

Rec'd 29th dec.

ATHENAEUM

# The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos*.

## Contents.

NEWS OF THE WEEK—		CONTENTS	
THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK	PAGE	ARREST AND MANSLAUGHTER OF A POACHER AT LINCOLN	154
THE NEW REFORM BILL	150	THE PRESTON LABOUR BATTLE	154
THE BRITISH WAR CONTINGENT	150	PUBLIC KILLING IN GERMANY	155
TREATMENT OF THE BRITISH ARMY	151	MISCELLANEOUS	155
CONTINENTAL NOTES	151		
AMERICAN NOTES	151		
CITY MATTERS	153		
POOR-LAW REFORM	153		
HEALTH OF LONDON	153		
		TREATMENT OF THE ARMY	150
		THE REFORM BILL	150
		A "STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT	151
		LITERATURE—	
		SUMMARY	152
		A RAZZIA AMONG NEW BOOKS	153
		THE SLAVE SON	154
		THE ARTS—	
		RANALGH	154
		THE LOVELOCK	155
		CHARLES MATTHEWS AND HIS STRAP-GLES	155
		BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS	155
		COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—	
		CITY INTELLIGENCE, MARKETS, ADVERTISING, &c.	155-156

VOL. V. No. 204.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1854.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.

## News of the Week.

**REFORM AND WAR** share the attentions of Government and public; but it must be confessed that the war occupies infinitely the larger share. The course which the Government of this country has laid out for itself in the East appears now to be understood. A contingent is to be supplied as an auxiliary force, counting 20,000 men, under the command of Lord Raglan in chief; several distinguished officers, including Lord Cardigan, General Brotherton, and the Duke of Cambridge, have volunteered to serve. Colonel Eyre, distinguished for his ability and success in the Kaffir war, is to command a brigade. Half of the contingent, comprising 10,000 infantry, are under orders, and will leave within a few weeks. The first detachment will consist of a brigade of the household troops, 2500 strong, under the command of Colonel Bentinck; and it will take its departure on Wednesday next, from various ports. No definite orders have yet been issued respecting the cavalry.

The best spirit animates officers and men—the latter volunteering not less readily than those who bear her Majesty's commission. The regiments are thoroughly filled up by volunteers; sappers and miners are prompt in volunteering; and the Rifles returned but a few days from the Cape, at once volunteered to make up the contingent of their own corps.

The magnificent steamers belonging to the great companies have been chartered; and indeed there is no lack of shipping. The feeling of the soldiers only reflects that of all classes of the people. The Guards have been accompanied in their preliminary marches by companions who cheered them on their way. It was something more than the ordinary mob that attends a regiment on removal that escorted the detachments in their passage through the metropolis; while the people of manufacturing Leeds, or the full-hearted Eton boys are as enthusiastic in their passing salute as any class of the population.

The same favourable reports are given of the fleet. The enormous activity of our dockyards; has advanced thirty powerful ships for a Baltic fleet twenty of that number are screw steamers, and the whole force carries 2220 guns.

Sailors and landsmen are coming up to the rendezvous in excellent fashion.

The Irish people are on fire to volunteer, especially for the army; and that spirit is manifested, notwithstanding the traitor-cry of the priests, not to be lured by "the Saxon shilling." It might be a question whether traitors to the State should not be brought to a strict account; but probably the disease may be left for cure to the generous spirit of the Irish people.

An unpleasant fact which has been disclosed in Manchester and the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, cannot be so readily dismissed. Of the number applying for enlistment, a very small fraction indeed can be accepted. Notwithstanding the lowering of the standard, the majority are too stunted or too sickly to be fit for service. The factory system has put its thumb upon the race of Englishmen, and keeps them down in growth and vigour. Assuredly, there are other things than commercial principles for statesmen, whether in or out of office; and it would be a poor gain to become the workshop of the world, if we are to pay for the distinction by becoming the menials of the world—too feeble and spiritless for England to sustain her position as one of the leaders of the world.

We are still awaiting more decisive news from abroad. As Count Orloff's mission becomes better understood, it becomes more evident than ever that its main object was to buy off Austria, and also Prussia, from the Western alliance; it also becomes more evident that, however sincere Austria may be in her neutrality at present, the object of that neutrality is to *defer* the hazardous choice of the side to be taken, until Russia or the Western Powers shall show signs of being able to secure a victory. Austria desires to bet upon the winner.

It is announced by the telegraph, in sufficiently intelligible terms, that Russia has formally declined the last proposals of the Vienna Conference, if not any intervention at all. A similar reply is anticipated to the bizarre letter which the Emperor Napoleon has addressed the Czar, suggesting that the latter might be free to treat directly with Turkey, on the preliminary condition that the Principalities be evacuated, and on the condition subsequent that the result of the negotiation be submitted to a Conference of the Four Powers. Why the Emperor Napoleon should have thought it necessary to intrude a fresh suggestion over the head of his own Ministry and that of England, people cannot guess; but his proceeding has been sanctioned by our Government, and it is regarded as only one of those *coupes de tête* in which Louis

Napoleon indulges, when he desires to write his autograph upon some great monumental crisis in history.

The financial community has always taken a conspicuous part in the Russian Question, and this week we have some characteristic demonstrations. At Vienna the Austrian Government is supposed to become more Russian in his leanings, and the comment of the commercial world is a fall of the exchange to the extent of 4 per cent. in forty-eight hours. In London, on the contrary, firmness is the character of the market; every decisive act is followed by a new proof of this firmness, and it is well understood that the feeling on the Stock Exchange, independently of mere money considerations, is that of strong irritation at the conduct of Russia, and a hearty desire that England should once more show her mettle. Indeed the sacred column of the *Times* insists that Russia shall be made to defray the costs of the war she has provoked, and that all treaties which have served as stepping-stones to her encroachments upon the integrity of Turkey and the liberties of Europe shall be expunged.

Lord Clanricarde has forced a debate upon the origin, rise, and progress of the war, in which he recapitulated events in such manner as to throw the most disparaging aspersions on the conduct of Ministers. He was supported by Lord Grey, who objected altogether to endeavouring to sustain Turkey, to resisting Russia, or to risking the continuance of peace; and by Lord Derby, who was, however, less acrimonious and more amusing than the Liberal peers out of office. Lord Clarendon and Lord Aberdeen were enabled to establish more distinctly than before some important positions, especially that they had been deceived by Russia in the first instance, with the emphasis of the most solemn assurances, such as gentlemen never break; and Lord Clarendon admitted that such assurances were given. Ministers also showed that from the very first moment when the dispute ceased to be one exclusively between Russia and France, they had sought, secured, and preserved throughout the cordial co-operation of the French Government. The debate ended without further result than to expose the animus of the Liberals out of office. It has even been whispered that Lord Grey is bidding for the honour of a Cobdenite Peace-Premier. We congratulate the noble lord on his expectations.

The declaration, last night, of Lord John Russell, though, in fact, adding nothing to what

Lord Clarendon had already stated, completed, by its spirit, force, and "pluck," what was wanting in the Ministerial announcement. Lord John Russell *declares war*, and appeals to Parliament and the country to back the Ministry. The "generous and wise" speech of Mr. Roebuck (whom all the House cheered as he rose to speak, after so long a silence, and still, we regret to say, looking ill and feeble) indicates what will be the answer.

Reform, however, has been the grand subject in Parliament; but even by the end of the week the transitory interest in Lord John's explanation has considerably faded. The bill involves several items, more or less minute, of intended improvement. Several small boroughs are to be deprived of their members, and several minor towns are to lose one of two members; these disfranchisements vacating sixty-two seats, of these thirty-nine are to be given by various augmentations to several counties, in some cases allotting three members to a county. In cases where three members represent a district a new provision is to meet the complaint, that minorities of a size almost equaling the effective majority are at present excluded from any representation. The electors in districts returning three or four members are only to be allowed a vote respectively for two or three members, which will let in the votes of the minority for the remaining one. Existing freemen are to retain their votes, but men newly taking up their freedom are not to acquire any, the race thus dying out. Various new special franchises are to be created—the possession of a 100*l.* in stock, of 50*l.* deposited for three years in a savings bank, of a degree in any university; and two new general franchises are to be created—first, by extending to counties the 10*l.* franchise; and, secondly, by giving to boroughs a franchise based on a 6*l.* occupancy, with a residence of two-and-a-half years. The measure was only stated by Lord John, without debate. A few questions were put, some in a hostile sense; but the bill and the whole subject stands over for a month. Out of doors the measure has excited much conversation, but no great stir.

Other important subjects have been discussed,—the law of settlement and removal, which Mr. Baines has introduced a bill to abolish poor-law rating, being extended to unions instead of parishes; and the law of succession to land in cases of intestacy, Mr. Locke King having introduced a bill to make land as divisible as personality. This is a new concession to pure commercial principles. The appointment of a public prosecutor, authorised in a bill introduced by Mr. G. J. Phillimore, is likely to be carried out by a Government bill. The wine duties were discussed by Mr. Oliveira in a soliloquy recommending abolition, and terminating in a withdrawal of his motion, not to embarrass the Government. Ministers promise to introduce a measure to substitute affirmation in lieu of oaths for those who have conscientious scruples.

The necessity of a pressure from without to induce the University of Oxford to keep moving has been strikingly exemplified by the strange antics of the *Hebdomadal* Obstructives this week. After eighteen months of inert resistance and sulky indifference on the part of the Board, the Vice-Chancellor floundered up in hot haste to Lord Derby, on Wednesday last, with a 'scheme' which has sprung all armed from the Heads—we will not say the brains—of Houses at the last moment, not without sore divisions and spasmodic throes for a new constitution.

This precious 'scheme,' just printed, consists of two initiative Boards, with complicated regulations for their combined motion, or rather for their combined inaction. The second Board is to be elective and, like the *Hebdomadal* Board, to consist of twenty-five members, of whom

eight are to be professors, and the rest miscellaneous.

The object, it will readily be perceived, of having two Boards is to keep the present *Hebdomadal* Board as it is, and to save it from being blended with the Professors and inferior members of Convocation. The clumsiness and complication of the machinery devised for this purpose are worthy of the inventors.

The Tory Chancellor, however, quite approves, except that he thinks they had better say, 'consider and propose,' than 'propose and consider,' and no doubt the Heads will have all the Derby influence to carry through Convocation the petition in which the scheme is embodied.

The Government seems to be hesitating; much moved by the prospect of the *Hebdomadal* scheme being carried in Convocation, and so endorsed by the University, they have given ten days law at the prayer of the Vice-Chancellor, and this time will be spent in whipping up all varieties of anti-Reformers and obstructives. The scheme is known to be partly suggested by Doctor Pusey, who appears to have been weaned sharply from the quietism of a life of sanctity by a restless fear of nineteenth-century new lights breaking through the stained glass of ecclesiasticism. He will no doubt give a good many votes to the *Hebdomadals*. Lord Derby has manifested his lively sense of the 'genius of the epoch,' and of the wants of the University, by announcing that 'founders' wills' must be religiously respected, and by condemning unattached students in the strongest terms. The Heads have accordingly hastened to pass a resolution that all students shall be required to belong to a college or a hall.

No doubt the small but compact phalanx of Reformers will make a good fight in Convocation, but there is too much reason to apprehend that they will be swamped by the obstructive forces of *Hebdomadalism*, Derbyism, and college monopoly.

We are not surprised to hear that the Tutor's Association (an apocryphal affair from the first) is backsiding in the direction of the *Hebdomadal* Board. Sir William Heathcote, who has been running the gauntlet of High Table and Common Room festivities this week, appears to regard himself as a sort of testamentary successor to Sir Robert Inglis. He is found to be in favour of the *Hebdomadal* Board, and of all that is obstructive. We accepted him, it is true, as we accept Oxford, 'failing a better.' Meanwhile, on Friday next, the Government will announce its intentions on the subject of University Reform.

It is not an unimportant event that the Manchester Town Council has decisively declared in favour of secular education: on the motion of Alderman Heywood it has resolved, counter to the proposition of the Manchester and Salford Association, that education should not be special or sectarian, but general.

#### THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

The great Parliamentary event of the week is the actual appearance of the new *REFORM BILL*. The important step was taken on Monday, when Lord JOHN RUSSELL rose in his place, and delivered a long but concise statement of the provisions of the bill.

At the outset he rather depreciated the importance of the question, which he said had been unduly magnified; and he drew a comparison between the excitement which attended the discussions of the Reform, "when we deliberated amid the flames of Nottingham and Bristol," and the present time. He successfully disposed of the objection that it is not a proper time to bring on the subject now that we are on the brink of a war, by saying that no time seemed fitting to the opponents of reform, and winding up with this sweeping assertion:—

"Much, sir, as I abhor war—much as I deplore the evils of war, I must confess I do not look on a war with Russia

with anything like that apprehension which some gentlemen do. (Hear, hear.) I cannot conceive that we should not be able to proceed with the means necessary for carrying on that war with vigour—and, if carried on at all, it ought to be carried on with vigour—(loud cheers)—and at the same time have full opportunity for deliberation in our domestic matters which appear to us most to require attention. Sir, I cannot but think that this apprehension of our being unable to attend to the consideration of questions of this character from the approach of war, if war should be unhappily declared to be inevitable, and, at the same time, to increase our armaments with a view to oppose the forces of Russia, appears to be one of those thoughts which are declared to consist of only one part wisdom and three parts cowardice."—(Laughter.)

Having so far cleared the ground, he made a further preface by a striking statement of what, since 1793, has been done towards the attainment of a fair and free representation.

"In the petition presented to this House in the name of the Association of the Friends of the People, I find several statements, which I will repeat to this House, that they may see how different was the state of things in those days. They state that at that time 70 members were returned by burgage tenure—electors none. There were no members returned in 1853. They state that 90 members were returned by places where the number of electors did not exceed 50. There are no members now returned for such places. They state, besides 160 so returned, 37 were returned by places where the number of voters did not exceed 100. There are at present no members thus returned. Besides these 197, they also state that 52 were returned by places where the number of voters did not exceed 200. I believe there is not now more than one member so returned. They state again, that 20 members for counties in Scotland were returned by less than 100 electors each; 10 by less than 250 each; and that there were 13 districts of burghs not containing 190 voters each, and two not containing 125 each, returning 15 members. There are now no members so returned. They state that in this manner 294 members were chosen, being a majority of this House. Instead of those places referred to at the commencement of this statement, there are now members returned to this House from Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Birmingham, and other places which are now the seats of wealth and industry. They go on to state that in the right of voting there were distinctions which perplexed and confounded them. Those rights have, most of them, been abolished by the Reform Bill, and the rights which have been established are comparatively easy of attainment. They state with regard to freedom, there were freemen resident and non-resident, and that there was freedom by redemption, by election, and by purchase. Freemen by these rights do not at present exist. They state that religious opinions created incapacities for voting for members to serve in Parliament; that all Papists were excluded generally, and by the operation of the Test Laws Protestant dissenters were deprived of a voice in the election of representatives in about thirty boroughs, where the election was confined to corporate officers alone. These laws excluding Roman Catholics have been repealed, and by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts Protestant dissenters have been admitted to vote. They state that householders were generally excluded. A particular class of householders were subsequently admitted by the Reform Bill. They state that in Scotland superiority, without any property whatever, gave the right of voting. They state, lastly, that the polling at elections for counties was taken at only one place, and lasted fifteen days. It is now taken in one day, and we had an instance only last Saturday, that instead of being taken in only one, it was taken in many places. Now, I state these things to show that we have made great improvements on the position in which the House stood as the representatives of the people in 1793. I need not state, because the House will have fresh in its recollection, the important measures which have passed during the period that has elapsed since the Reform Act received the assent of the Legislature. The abolition of slavery—the opening of the trade with China—the reform of the Irish Church—the reform of the corporations of England, Scotland, and Ireland—the measures that were taken for the reform of the tariff—the repeal of the corn laws—the repeal and equalization of the sugar duties—the repeal of the navigation laws—these are only some of the measures which have occupied the attention of Parliament during the period that has elapsed since that event."

Lord John then dealt with the first of three main defects in the Reform Act—the small constituencies left by that act; but he expressed his belief that variety of numbers in the constituencies is necessary, and that they should by no means be all equal; and he gave these reasons:—

"If anybody will look at the history of the last few years, he will see that, during the contentions which existed on the

subject of free-trade—if he take up an account of a meeting in some agricultural county, he will find that great applause was given to those who pointed out the selfishness and cupidity of manufacturers, and attributed their efforts to those feelings. On the other hand, at meetings held in great manufacturing towns, the landed aristocracy were held up to odium, and their monopoly of power was denounced to the people as the greatest of evils. But there remained a great number of people who neither listened to nor believed in either of these representations. A great portion of the people, consisting of many of the most moderate and calm men in the country, thought, and justly thought, that the landed aristocracy were useful to the country, that they contributed an important element to the free and settled institutions of the State; and they thought, on the other hand, that the country derived the greatest benefit from the industry and spirit of the manufacturing class. If you think that nothing but large cities and counties should be represented, you will want that mediating element, that infusion of moderation which is derived from those who are not sent by either of these classes."

He now stated what he actually would do on the subject:—

"Sir, I have stated that at the time of the Reform Bill I said there were a certain small number of boroughs which would still have a sufficient number of electors to enable them to make an independent election of members to serve them in Parliament. I find the number of electors which I then stated I thought all boroughs to have at least, to enable them to send members to this House, was 300. I find, however, there are several boroughs whose constituencies fall below that number. I find, likewise, that there are boroughs which, although they have more than the number of 300 electors, are yet of a population which is not considerable—the fact, falling below 5000. I should propose, therefore, to deal with the boroughs which are in that position. (Hear, hear.) Going on to some of the boroughs which are not so small, I find there is a certain number of other boroughs which have less than 500 electors, and others which have a population of less than 10,000, though more than 500 electors, which return two members. I propose to deal with those boroughs by taking away one of their members. (Cheers.) The number of boroughs—taking the double return of electors and population, which come under 300 electors, and the others which have 300 electors and a population of 5000—are 19, and they send 29 members to this House. (Hear, hear.) The number of boroughs which will come into the next table, which have either less than 500 electors or less than 10,000 population, are no fewer in number than 33. Now, therefore, if the former boroughs were entirely disfranchised, there would be no less than 62 seats by which the number of this House would be diminished."

Then came the next defect in the Reform Bill:—

"The next defect which I have to mention in it is that I think it has tended too much to divide the constituencies in a way that they were not divided, into opposite camps, so far as they were connected with land or with trade. (Hear, hear.) I think we have seen what was not the case before; we have seen county members generally exclusively of one party, and members of great manufacturing cities exclusively, likewise, of another party. Perhaps, before I proceed to state the mode in which I propose that the sixty-two seats should be filled up, I should state that I think very great advantage would be derived from a change which has been proposed in writings and in pamphlets—I mean the representation of minorities. Of the numbers who have voted at some of the elections for counties, and for some of the great cities, I find that there are two, three, and four thousand who have voted for the unsuccessful candidates, while, perhaps, not more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty more are to be found on the side of the successful candidates. It appears to us that many advantages would attend the enabling of the minority to have a part in these returns. In the first place, there is apt to be a feeling of great irritation and soreness when a very considerable number of the electors, such as those I have stated, are completely shut out of the representation. In one city or in one county it may be the Liberal party, in great towns it may be the Conservative party; but if they form a very large party, I have been told, though I have no practical experience of it, that a very great degree of anger is felt at their perpetual exclusion. In the next place, I think that the more you have your representation confined to large populations, the more ought you to take care that there should be some kind of balance preserved, and that large places sending members to this House should send those who represent the interests of the community at large; but when there is a very large body excluded, it cannot be said that the community at large is fairly represented. The only mode by which this proposed representation of the minority can be effected will be in cases where three members represent a county or city; and when that is the case, it is obvious that, supposing there to be a decided majority of 100 to 500, that majority would, at all events, have two members out of the three, and in this House they would be as two to two in any division which took place. I think, besides, that the adoption of a plan of this sort would have a great tendency in preventing angry conflicts in those places where elections for members of Parliament might take place."

"I proceed now to state the mode of voting in these cases, and which it is necessary to understand in order to be able to form an accurate opinion of the plan proposed. We take, in the first place, the West Riding of the county of York, which has nearly 800,000 inhabitants, besides the inhabitants of the towns which are represented; and we take also the county of Lancashire, which has, I think, in its southern division about 500,000 inhabitants. We propose to divide these two divisions of the counties, but to each of the divisions we propose to give three members. Proceeding with the counties and towns, we propose to give an additional member to each county or each town which has more than 100,000 inhabitants. But then we propose that in giving their votes in these cases where members are to be returned, the electors should vote as they do at present, only for two candidates out of the three, and that when the minority

exceeds two-fifths of the whole number of electors, the persons forming that minority should be enabled to have one of the three representatives which were given. The consequence of this alteration would be to give to the West Riding of the county of York four additional members, and four to the southern division of Lancashire. There would then be, I think, 38 members for the other counties, making 46 altogether. With respect to towns having more than 100,000 inhabitants, there are nine which come within this category, without including those which are metropolitan boroughs, for we have considered the metropolitan boroughs as forming parts of one great city, and not as separate cities and towns. There would be, as I said, eight towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants, to which one additional member would be given, and to Salford, containing upwards of 80,000 inhabitants, one member would also be given, being an addition of nine for towns which now return members. We propose also that one member be given to three towns which have more than 20,000 inhabitants, and which are not at present represented; they are Birkenhead, Stalybridge, and Burnley. (*Cries of 'Oh, oh,' from the Opposition benches.*) Each of these towns contains about 20,000 inhabitants. We then propose to give effect to that proposition which has often been asked in this House, that Kensington and Chelsea should be made into a distinct borough, to which two members should be allotted."

In continuation of the same section of the measure he stated that two members would be given to the Inns of Court—a proposition greeted with shouts of laughter—and one to the University of London. Then came the franchise. In 1831 the 10/- rating was adopted.

"Now I think that, taking that plan of the franchise, and abolishing as we did all those intricate franchises which then existed, we too much confined ourselves to one species of franchise, and did not make the franchise sufficiently various or sufficiently comprehensive. We propose on the present occasion that there should be several franchises, which should be common to counties and towns—that a person having any of these qualifications should vote in the place in which he resides, and should exercise his vote there, whether he be resident in a county or borough returning a member to Parliament. The first of these qualifications which we propose is 10/- a year of salary derived from any employment, whether public or private. The amount of salary stated must, however, be received half-yearly or quarterly, in order that this franchise may not include those persons who are paid by weekly wages. I consider that this franchise will bring in a very large body of able and deserving men who are not householders, and who do not come in at all under the denomination of householders under the existing system. The next franchise which we propose is one of 10/- a year derived from dividends from property either in the Funds, or in Bank Stock, or in East India Company's Stock. The third is somewhat similar, though rather higher than that which I proposed two years since—viz., a 40/- payment either of income tax or assessed taxes within the year. Those who now pay the income tax will be entitled to the vote, and when they lose the vote in consequence of this part of the qualification ceasing, they will receive, as a compensation for their loss, the benefit of having got rid of the tax. (*Laughter.*) We also propose that all graduates of any university in the United Kingdom—suitable means being, of course, devised for compelling persons claiming this franchise to prove their right—shall have the right of voting, because they may be fairly considered as being persons of education and intelligence. We also propose that any person having a deposit of 50/- in the savings bank—(*Cheers*)—and having had that deposit for not less than three years, shall be entitled to vote. (*Re-echoed cheers.*) I think, if the terms were fixed at less than three years, there would be very considerable danger of fictitious votes being created. But where *bond fide* holders of a sum of 50/- in the savings bank can be found, I think the House will agree with me, that such a depositor has given such a proof of his prudence and prosperity as should entitle him to take part in elections for members of Parliament. (*Cheers.*) With respect to counties, it may be recollect that at the time of the introduction of the Reform Bill, the Government did not propose to depart in principle from the general provision of our constitution—that while occupation gave the right of voting in cities and boroughs, tenure should give the right of voting in counties. But in the course of the progress of the Reform Bill through Parliament, amendments were proposed and carried, by which all 50/- copyholders obtained the right of voting in counties. When that principle was departed from, great opposition was manifested, and many reasons were assigned why the 'occupation franchise' should not be extended further. I believe that such an extension would not add considerably to the numbers of electors in towns sending members to Parliament. At the same time, I think it would be a very great advantage if those who live in towns which have not the right of sending members to Parliament should yet have in the counties in which they reside some voice in the county elections. We propose, therefore, to adopt the principle embodied in that motion which has more than once been made in this House, that the 10/- occupier should have the right of voting at county elections. (*Cheers from the Ministerial side.*) With respect to this alteration of the franchise, we propose to check an abuse which has prevailed to some extent, founded on the words of the act—'any building or any lands occupied therewith.' Availing themselves of this phraseology of the act, persons have run up sheds of the value of not half-a-crown a year, and made up the rest of the qualification by land, thereby creating a species of voter on whom it was not intended to confer the franchise. We propose that, in this respect, the county right of voting, with the exception of houses being of no value, shall consist in the voter living or residing in it, but that in all other cases the building must be at least of the value of five pounds. (*Laughter.*) Of course, I mean five pounds a year. Suppose the house and land to be valued and rated at a value of one or two pounds, provided the voter resides in that house, he will be entitled to the franchise. But if the right to vote should be claimed in respect to any other building on the land, other than the house

in which the voter resides—it may be a cattle-shed or other erection of that kind—then this check shall apply, that the building must be of the value of 5/- a year. This, therefore, is the franchise which we propose to give in counties for voters, and the House will see that it has a very considerable bearing upon that question of the increase of Members which I have stated we intend to propose for some counties. Out of the whole number of members which I have stated, we propose that forty-six should be added to the counties; but as these counties will hereafter include all 10/- householders, it is obvious that the representation of the counties will be less of a special character than it has hitherto been. (*Ironical cheers from the Opposition benches.*) It appears to me to be desirable that this should be so, because it seems to me that all these endeavours to run down the agricultural interest, or to run down the manufacturing interest, are perfectly foolish and absurd, and that there could be no better representation than that which takes into consideration the whole of the great interests of this country—(*Cheers*)—and which considers them all as contributing to the glory and prosperity of a great country. (*Cheers.*) Now I come to the question of the franchise for the boroughs. It certainly appears to me that in taking a 10/- franchise so absolutely as we did in 1831, we did not make a sufficient provision for the admission of the working classes into the right of voting. (*Cheers.*) It was not intended, as has been supposed, that the middle classes should be exclusively the electors in cities and boroughs; but still it was supposed—as has actually taken place—that the middle classes would have a greater portion of the power in their hands, and that in effect they would have a great influence upon the future conduct of the Parliaments of the country. In the consequences which have followed that act, I am prepared to maintain an opinion which I still think the right one. I think it was most desirable that the middle classes of this country should have a great influence upon its fortunes; but, at the same time, looking at the character of the working classes of this country—seeing how much the wealth of this country depends upon them—(*Cheers*)—I think we ought to endeavour to give them a higher position in respect to election of members of Parliament than that which they now occupy."

Therefore he proposed to give the right of voting to all persons who are rated at 6/- a year and upwards, "on the condition that they possess the municipal form of residence—that is, a term of about two years and a half before they are entitled to be placed on the register, and about two years and ten months before they can exercise the right of voting. By this plan you would obtain such an extension of the franchise as would include a large number of working men, and which would not preclude those who are most remarkable for the steadiness of their conduct, or for the skill and ability with which they carry on their trade, and who are, in consequence, entitled to live in houses of a better character than those which are occupied by the great mass of their fellow workmen." (*Expressions of dissent.*)

With this change also he proposed to repeal the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Act—a statement that elicited cheering—and as much trouble and many conflicting decisions have attended the examination of the lists of registered electors, that the list of registered electors once made should be final. Also the bill will provide that after the expiration of existing interests the freemen of cities and boroughs should cease to have votes in the elections of members of Parliament, and that any person who may take up his freedom, whether by birth or by purchase, should not thereby obtain the right of voting in the election of members of Parliament. (*Cheers from both sides of the House.*)

"There is another subject proposed to be dealt with by the proposed bill connected with the scheme of our representation, viz., an alteration which we propose to make in the Act of Anne, which obliges every person who accepts office under the Crown to vacate his seat and go to a fresh election. Now, the spirit of this act was unknown from the time of the Revolution until the period when the statute was passed. The passing of the act arose out of a dispute upon a great principle, upon which the Whig and Tory party completely differed, viz., whether or not the House of Commons should be a body entirely independent of the Crown, or whether it should be a body which should contain within it the Ministers of the Crown, and where they, having influence with the House, might as it were become, by that means, the Government of the country. The Whigs maintained that the ministers ought to be allowed to have seats in the House; the Tories on the other hand contended that it would conduce more to the independence of the House of Commons if all placemen were excluded from it. The one opinion prevailed, the other did not succeed; but as a sort of expedient, and with the view of satisfying those who wished to exclude all ministers who served the Crown, it was proposed that all ministers should, upon being appointed to any place under the Crown, vacate their seats, and go to a new election. So long as this House was unreformed—so long as a number of convenient boroughs existed, which were called 'Treasury boroughs,' and elections were dependent upon some one connected with the minister, an inconvenience followed upon this point. Mr. Canning, when he accepted the office of Foreign Secretary, vacated his seat for Liverpool, and was immediately returned for Harwich, because Harwich was a sure seat, and would not give any trouble to ministers. (*A laugh.*) In the same way there was always some borough or town in which a seat was to be found for any person who was of importance to the minister. But with the introduction of the principle of popular representation there arose difficulties which have hardly been compensated by the advantage of having these new elections. Because, although the theory is that the member appointed to office ought to go before his constituents, that they may decide whether they will have a member to represent them who is a servant of the Crown, or whether they will require an independent member, that, in point of fact, is a question which hardly ever arises. The question which does arise is with reference to the particular politics of the member at that moment, and what are the questions which would be most embarrassing to the member thus vacating his seat, and who, in consequence, may not obtain an immediate return. The effect of this is that very often the Crown is embarrassed in its choice of ministers, by having to take

persons who are *sure* of being re-elected, rather than others who are not *so* certain, but who perhaps might be better adapted for the office. There is really no public benefit accruing from the adoption of this course equivalent to the consequences of this difficulty. If the ministers of the Crown are to appear in this House as responsible for their acts, they ought to be able to advise the Crown to give every office to such members of the House of Commons—if suitable persons have seats therein—who would be best qualified to perform the duties of their offices, and without being hampered in their choice by the consideration of the probability of their re-election. (*Heard, heard, heard.*) Besides, it is obvious that there are many questions fully as important as that of taking office, upon which a member need not ask the opinion of his constituents. A member, for instance, might totally change his course of politics—(*Heard, heard, heard.*)—in which case he may either go before his constituents or not, just as he pleases. The check, therefore, which I have mentioned is not generally effective, while it is often inconvenient and injurious. We propose accordingly to repeal that provision altogether, and to allow persons, as during the reign of William III, to accept office under the Crown without vacating their seats. (*Heard, heard, heard.*) Now, sir, I will state to the House the various places which, according to our proposal, will lose the power of sending members to Parliament, and the counties and boroughs to which we intend to give them. I should say, before I do so, that there will be 29 places totally disfranchised, and 33 deprived of one of the two members which each of them now has, making altogether 62, to which there are four to be added on account of seats already vacant, bringing the number up to 66. The places which I shall read to the House will fill up 63 of these seats, and by a proposition which I need not now go into, but which will be based upon the same principle, the remaining three seats will be given to a populous district, and to the universities in Scotland. This is the schedule of boroughs having less than 300 electors, or less than 5000 inhabitants, and which we propose to disfranchise:—Andover returned 2 members; Arundel, 1; Ashburton, 1; Calne, 1; Dartmouth, 1; Evesham, 2; Harwich, 2; Honiton, 2; Knaresborough, 2; Lyme Regis, 1; Marlborough, 2; Midhurst, 1; Northallerton, 1; Reigate, 1; Richmond (Yorkshire), 2; Thetford, 2; Totnes, 2; Wells, 2; Wilton, 1.—Total, 19 boroughs, returning 29 members. (*Cheers and laughter.*) The second table is a list of boroughs having less than 500 electors, or less than 10,000 inhabitants, and which we propose to deprive of one member each:—Table B.—Bodmin, Bridgnorth, Bridport, Buckingham, Chichester, Chippenham, Cirencester, Cockerham, Devizes, Dorchester, Guildford, Hertford, Huntingdon, Leominster, Lewes, Ludlow, Lynnington, Lichfield, Maldon, Marlow (Great), Newport (Isle of Wight), Peterborough, Poole, Ripon, Stamford, Tamworth, Tavistock, Tewkesbury, Tiverton, Weymouth, Windsor, Wycombe, and Chippingham.—Total, 33 members. The next table contains the counties and divisions of counties which have a population of more than 100,000, and which we think should have three members each:—Table C.—Bedford; Chester, southern division; ditto, northern; Cornwall, western; ditto, eastern; Derby, northern; ditto, southern; Devon, southern; ditto, northern; Durham, northern; ditto, southern; Essex, southern; ditto, northern; Gloucester, western; Kent, western; ditto, eastern; Lancaster, northern; Lincoln, parts of Lindsey; ditto, parts of Kesteven and Holland; Middlesex; Monmouth; Norfolk, western; ditto, eastern; Stafford, northern; ditto, southern; Somerset, western; ditto, eastern; Salop, northern; Southampton, northern; Suffolk, eastern; ditto, western; Surrey, eastern; Sussex, eastern; Warwick, northern; Worcester, eastern; York, east riding; ditto, northern; Wales: Glamorgan, 1.—Additional members, 38. There are, as the House is well aware, some counties which already have three members, and which, of course, are not included in the above list. I have mentioned already, in regard to the West Riding of Yorkshire and South Lancashire, that they will be each of them divided into two parts. The division has been drawn in such a manner that there will be in either case nearly an equal population in each of the divisions; and when I state to the House that the population is in one case 800,000 and in the other 500,000, you will agree with me that it will be fair to divide these two great counties. The next table I shall read to the House is a list of the cities and boroughs containing more than 100,000 inhabitants, and to which we propose to give three members each: Birmingham, Bristol (city), Bradford (Yorkshire), Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester (city), Sheffield, Wolverhampton; Salford to return, in future, two members—total 9 members. Sir, I have already stated that the towns containing more than 25,000 inhabitants, and which are to return one member each, are Birkenhead, Burnley, and Stalybridge."

Lord John then moved for leave to bring in the bill. Hereupon a rambling conversation ensued; in which the freemen did not lack defenders, nor the principle of the representation of minorities opponents. The Tories, of course, urged Government not to proceed. The Liberals, like Mr. Tufnell, found fault because property qualification is not abolished. Mr. HENRY DRUMMOND made this speech:—

"It is not likely, sir, that I, who disliked so much the former Reform Bill, should look upon the present with any very favourable eye. That Reform Bill was hailed as a revolutionary measure by every man in the country who desired revolution, and it was repelled as a revolutionary measure by every man in the country who disliked revolution—both of them calling it *honestly* by that name. (*Loud Opposition cheers.*) I can find no fault with the noble lord for pursuing the course on which he then entered; but I confess to being somewhat at a loss to know how this can, in the language of the noble lord at the head of the present Government, be called a progressive conservative measure. It is progress, certainly—progress in that revolutionary measure which that noble lord himself (Lord Aberdeen) so stigmatized twenty-three years ago—a measure still entitled to the same designation. (*Cheers.*) That it may not be said that I am calling names without stating what I mean by the term, I

mean this—that you do sever, and did at that time separate, property from power; and no matter by what means—no matter what are the words you use—that severance is Socialism. (*Loud Opposition cheers.*) As to whether it be wise for the noble lord now to bring forward this measure or not, I believe it is. I do not think it signifies whether we are in a state of war or not. The measure contains that which must be sooner or later destructive. There is no reason in the world for stopping where you are. This is incense offered to that party which for twenty-one years the noble lord has idolized—the party which honestly declares, without any disguise, its intention and hope are to establish shortly a democracy in this country." (*Renewed Opposition cheers.*)

Mr. THOMAS DUNCOMBE said, the bill must be judged of as a whole. With some amendments it would become an excellent measure. His speech was the only one of spirit delivered during a listless debate. He pointed out that several Whig boroughs were sacrificed, a fact that spoke well for the Government. He taunted the Opposition with opposing this bill as they would have opposed a milder bill when there was no war. What did they do in 1852?

"What the Government should do was, to convince the country they were in earnest; and whether the measure would be popular or not depended on how far it opened the door to the industrious classes. He thought the noble lord had not opened the door wide enough. Two and a half years' residence was too long, because, if the term was completed just after the registration, the voter must wait another year, and it became, in fact, three and a half years' residence. With regard to the metropolitan boroughs, he thought the reason of the noble lord a good one—that the constituents were at their very door. (*A laugh.*) If in earnest, he hoped the noble lord would receive the support of the country, and that he would depend on that support and the efforts of his own Government to give that justice to the working classes which he (Mr. Duncombe) contended had been much too long withheld."

The Reform Bill was brought in, read a first time, and saluted with loud cheering, on Thursday.

Another great debate was the retrospective discussion in the Lords on the past conduct of the Ministry, brought about on a formal motion for papers by Lord Clanricarde. This debate took place on Tuesday, and occupied over seven hours. In that time there were eight speeches delivered, four of which expressed approbation of the policy of the Government, three censured it, and one stood on isolated grounds.

The bill of indictment against the Government was drawn up by Lord CLANRICARDE. At great length he insisted not that Government had not engaged earlier in war, but that they had not adopted the best means of preventing hostilities. He contended that the call of Colonel Rose for the fleet should have been responded to; that Ministers had sent instead a despatch to St. Petersburg, disapproving of the advance of the French fleet from Toulon, that filled the Russian Court with joy, because it opened a prospect of disunion between England and France. For that despatch Ministers received the thanks of the Russian Government! He also made much of a despatch from Lord Stratford, written in July last, stating the actual condition of things, and urging a decision without delay. He complained that no understanding had been come to with France as to the common object at which the two nations were to aim, and perhaps fight. He insisted that Austria had only yielded to our determination. He criticised the explanations of the entry of the fleets into the Black Sea, as given by Sir Hamilton Seymour to Count Nesselrode, showing that we told the Russian Minister that our fleet entered with no hostile intentions, while the French Minister pointed out that the French fleet was to protect the Turkish territory. Why, he asked, were we ashamed to say what our intentions were, especially when we described the affair at Sinope as a defiance to the British flag? Another grievance urged by the orator was the old one, that information had not been given to Parliament, and especially that a special statement had not been made when diplomatic relations were suspended on both sides. And finally, charging Ministers with lack of purpose and infirmity of will, with not having defined objects and with not showing vigour in preparing for war, he moved for papers.

Lord MALMESBURY took, in some respects, a different, but not a novel line of attack. He put together a great many facts to show that Ministers ought to have been aware that the Russian designs were inimical to Turkish independence, in spite of the friendly assurances of the Russian Cabinet; and he urged the argument discounted long ago by the morning journals, that the supposed want of union between England and France deluded the Emperor of Russia into the adoption of the aggressive policy he had followed. Government had not acted with vigour, and had been too polite in its language.

The other antagonist of the Government was Lord DERBY. His object was to reinforce the position taken up by Lord Malmesbury, that Government had quite sufficient information in their hands in April last, to show that the assurances of Russia were worthless, and that her designs were war, if she could not succeed without. In proof of this he cited despatches from the Blue Book, showing that Lord Clarendon was amply informed of the movement of

troops towards the frontiers of Turkey, and of their subsequent concentration on the Pruth. He insisted, with some vehemence, that Ministers should have addressed the Emperor of Russia, not with "bated breath," but firm and resolute language; have told him France and England would not permit him to invade the Principalities. Had the Emperor believed he would never have brought on a war. He was led to believe England would not fight by the language held to him.

The Government speakers were Lord CLARENDRON, who answered Lord Clanricarde; Lord GLENELG who stood by the Government generally; the Duke of ARGYLL, who replied to some points put forward by the Opposition, and Lord ABERDEEN, who brought the debate to a climax.

The chief of these speakers certainly was the Foreign Secretary. At the very outset of his speech Lord Clarendon disposed of the argument so elaborately built up on the other side, that Ministers were blameable for trusting Russia.

"We received the strongest assurances that Prince Menschikoff's mission had reference solely to the question of the holy places; and it was on that ground we felt it was impossible to doubt the representations of the Russian Government. My lords, I should as soon have thought of doubting that any noble lord in this House stated on his honour, as would have thought of doubting or of taking any measure in distrust of the assurances which Russia so distinctly and so repeatedly expressed to us."

He denied that there ever was the slightest disagreement between England and France with respect to the advance of the French fleet; and as to the non-advance of the British fleet from Malta, he showed that the French Government, and even the Sultan himself, concurred in detaining it there. At that time the Russian Government professed to have only in view the question of the holy places. The presence of the combined fleets would have been an additional embarrassment; and full security for the future was taken when Lord Stratford went out, carrying with him full power to call up the fleet in case of need.

Lord Clarendon's explanation of the state in which we actually are caused some laughter. No distinct answer, he said, could be given to the question, are we at peace or at war?

"We are not at war, because war is not declared—we are not strictly at peace with Russia. My noble friend may laugh; but he must know perfectly well that I am earnest in saying that we are not at war with Russia, although diplomatic relations with that country have been suspended. And you must remember, my lords, that these relations have not been interrupted in consequence of our act, the *Admiral* having been taken by Russia, who has declared that diplomatic relations with us are simply suspended. Therefore I consider that we are in the intermediate state, that our desire for peace is just as sincere as ever; but then I must say that our hopes of maintaining it are gradually dwindling away, and that we are drifting towards war. But my noble friend (Lord Aberdeen) said the other night, as long as war is not declared the maintenance of peace is not utterly to be despised of. I therefore consider, my lords, that the negotiations are now at an end; but whether a state of war is instantly to ensue, I am sure your lordships will not expect me in the exercise of my discretion or responsibility to state to your lordships the exact step which her Majesty's Government think it necessary to take in the present aspect of affairs. Because your lordships must remember that we are not acting alone; we are acting in conjunction with our allies; and I think it will be sufficient at the present moment to say, in answer to the desire thrown upon our proceedings by my noble friend, that every preparation is being made, and with all the vigour and the rapidity which the existing state of things demands."

Anticipating an objection to be subsequently set forth at great length—namely, that we ought not to have interfered at all, Lord Clarendon put the result of non-interference in a striking way.

"We might certainly have avoided the state of things which now excites and agitates men's minds; but to do so would be to purchase a temporary repose at too great a risk. A protectorate over 3,000,000 or 10,000,000 of the Sultan's subjects, would have placed the throne and empire of the Sultan completely at the mercy of Russia at any moment. Do what you might to prevent it, Russia might thus become the mistress of Constantinople; and then, applying all her energies, and all her resources to increase her naval strength, she would become a great Mediterranean power, being also a great Baltic power. Why, my lords, is that case nothing would prevent the Emperor of Russia from being the lord of Europe, and causing a constant and ruinous drain upon the resources of other nations who wished to maintain an amount of naval force to counterbalance the power of Russia. The defence of Turkey, under these circumstances, is a question which involves the independence of Europe—(*cheers*)—and not France and England alone have so regarded it, but Austria and Prussia likewise. No one can doubt that, in the month of May last, Austria and Prussia could have had no wish to quarrel or be at difference with Russia unnecessarily; and yet, my lords, the representations of those two powers at Constantinople, being on their own Governments, cordially united with the ambassadors of England and France in recommending the Porte to resist the demands of Prince Menschikoff, clearly foreseen the pernicious results that must ensue from compliance with his demands."

Lord Clarendon contended that Government had not wavered or used indistinct language to Russia

and fully made out that had war been declared in July, as a consequence of menacing the Emperor, there is no doubt the opponents of Government would have blamed them for unnecessarily rushing into the war.

Allusion has been made to our communications with Russia. I will shortly refer to what these communications were. When the Turkish Government found that further negotiations were hopeless, and thought it advisable to commence hostilities, the allied fleets were ordered up to the Bosphorus; and in October last a communication was made to the Russian Government, stating that the fleets were not there for the purpose of attacking Russia, but that we were determined to defend the Turkish territory. My lords, no aggression did take place on the Turkish territory; and in the meantime we received assurances (and they were distinctly given to the Austrian Government as well) that Russia would still remain on the defensive. For upwards of a month there was no aggression committed on the Turkish territory, until the horrible affair at Sinope occurred, when the Turkish fleet, peacefully anchored in a Turkish harbour, was completely destroyed, and where, if the combined fleets had been present, they would have repelled the aggression and chastised the aggressor. Her Majesty's Government then felt, in conjunction with that of the Emperor of the French, that the time was come, not only to prevent the recurrence of such a disaster, but at once to protect the Ottoman flag and Ottoman territory; and no time was lost in making such a communication both to the Russian Government and the Russian admiral. But we did not think—whatever may be a noble friend's opinion—in the situation in which matters stood, that to permit an aggression (we having undertaken to protect the Turkish territory) on the Russian territory would have been proper or lawful. We did no harm to the Turks by that, because they were too weak to attempt any aggression upon the Russians, and they could only have done so under the protection of the French and British flags. We thought that for us to permit that, and to become accessories, and more than accessories, in acts of overt hostility towards Russia, would have been justly to expose ourselves to the accusation of having committed acts of hostility without having the manliness or the courage to declare war. We considered that that would have been a dastardly course, and wholly unworthy of England. We did not declare war at the time these instructions were sent, because, in the beginning of December, we did not know that war was necessary. We had reason to expect that our objects in protecting the Turkish territory and flag might be carried out without war; but to commit acts of hostility under the mask of peace we thought—and I am sure your lordships will agree with us—would have been unjust and unbecoming the dignity and character of this country. Our communication to St. Petersburg was not regarded in the friendly light which my noble friend seems to think. On the contrary, the Russian Government, so far from being satisfied, required its ministers at Paris and London to obtain written explanations, to know if a system of reciprocity and an armistice was to be established in the Black Sea, and if we were to remain neutral, which we certainly were not. The British and French fleets were there for the protection of the Turkish territory and flag, and to insist that a weak power should not depend upon the will of a powerful nation. To have declared ourselves neutral would have been to stultify ourselves, and to tie our hands for the future, and injure the very cause we wished to support. But my noble friend seems to complain that Russia was not allowed to transport her forces from one Russian port to another. Why, if we had permitted that, we should have had to remain passive spectators whilst large forces were being conveyed from Russian ports to Erzeroum and to the most distant parts of the Black Sea, or to have passively witnessed the spectacle of the Turkish fleet interfering with such an expedition and insulting it. That, my lords, would have been an anomaly; but certainly I do not think it so great an anomaly as the occupation of the Danubian Principalities without a declaration of war, in order to obtain a power which could not be rightfully demanded or conceded without the sacrifice of the independence of the Sultan.

With reference to Austria and Prussia, Government had fresh reasons to be satisfied.

Austria and Prussia have come to three determinations, which are recorded in separate acts—first, that the war, prolonged to whatever extent it may be, shall not be suffered to alter the geographical limits previously settled between the belligerent Powers; next, they have recommended the terms of an honourable peace, which they say ought to be accepted by Russia; and thirdly, they have recorded their conviction that the counter propositions of Russia are not such as to be worthy of being sent to Constantinople. Therefore, through the joint action of England and France, as well as Austria and Prussia, the means of assenting to an honourable peace have been placed in the hands of Russia. And, whilst I do not wish to pronounce any unjust or harsh judgment, I must still say that there can now be no doubt what will be the individual opinion of mankind with respect to that Power which appears determined to plunge Europe into the incalculable horrors of war, when, with honour to herself, she might have averted it. (Cheers.) Certainly, Austria and Prussia, as I took the opportunity of saying before, a few days ago, have met the proposals of Russia in a manner becoming the dignity of independent Powers. Whilst England and France are preparing to go to war with Russia, and are determined to do so if necessary, with Austria, and Prussia it rests to avert war, or, at least, to render it of short duration. (Hear, hear.) And, undoubtedly, the interests of these two Powers are in harmony with a noble and generous course which will bring safety abroad as well as at home, for they will have with them the universal opinion of Germany; and revolution, my lords, will not rear its head, nor will England refuse its sympathy to countries which are faithfully endeavouring to perform their duties and obligations. (Cheers.) My lords, the answer of Austria was, that so long as Russia maintained a defensive attitude, so long Austria did not feel it incumbent on her to act; but now that Russia appears determined to go forth, and to push

her intentions beyond that which she had led Austria to expect, Austria would be governed by a sense of her own interest and dignity, and she had sent a large portion of troops to the frontier, first taking care to give satisfactory assurances to Turkey with regard to the object of this measure, and declaring that if armed intervention should become necessary to maintain the strictly legal and territorial *status quo*, she would not refuse to join in it. The answer of Prussia was quite as dignified and decided; and on account of this intention of Prussia being known, I believe Count Orloff did not extend his mission to Berlin; and therefore I think that your lordships will be of opinion that our endeavours to secure the alliance of Austria and Prussia, and our deference to those Powers, have not proved in vain or been misplaced.

In conclusion, Lord Clarendon praised the conduct of the people during these trying times.

Passing over Lord GLENELG, who approved of the policy of the Government, and expressed that approval in the highest terms, and also passing over the Duke of ARGYLL, who defended his colleagues, we come to Lord ABERDEEN. He treated the Opposition with hardly disguised contempt. What, after such speeches only to move for papers; the least they could have done would have been to censure, not to say impeach, the Government. So completely did he approve of his own policy, that had he an opportunity of acting on a similar occasion, that policy he should repeat.

I feel that the people of this country are not sufficiently impressed with the importance and with the magnitude of the war in which they may be engaged, and this I think must be apparent to all your lordships. (Hear.) In fact, we have been so long without having experienced the horrors and the miseries of war, that it is but too common to look upon it now as a source of pleasurable excitement. I believe that the feeling in this matter is a generous feeling; and although they do not look to the consequences which must inevitably ensue should war take place, the feeling is a generous one to resist aggression and injustice. (Loud cheers.) But, my lords, it is not for us to encourage that feeling. It is, on the contrary, the duty of the Government as much as possible to resist such feelings, however natural, and however generous they may be—to direct them in the course of a pacific policy. I must admit that already, without measure, have imputations of cowardice, vacillations, and treachery been cast upon me. All this I submit to, but at the same time I do not see in what a more courageous policy consists. It seems to me we have more moral courage in resisting strong impressions, because we think them irrational and carried to a mischievous extent, than those who deal in the common-place taunts which I am ashamed to hear applied by the noble earl. (Loud cheers.) . . . . . I could very much wish that we had seen the worst of this state, be it war or be it peace; but, although I have ventured to say that I did not think war inevitable, I have never said that it would not take place, although I not only hope, but most ardently pray, that it may not take place. All that I said was, that it was not inevitable, that I did not abandon that hope; and, slender as it is, I will not abandon it even now. It is a matter of very little importance what I may hope, or expect, or think; but what is important is, that her Majesty's Government are making every possible preparations as if war were inevitable. That is all the country can desire, and they may leave me and others to indulge our hopes and our prayers as we may think proper. I can repeat that every effort will be made, and is making at this moment, to carry on the war, if war there must be, in such manner as becomes the character, the dignity, and the power of this country. At this hour I will not fatigue your lordships by saying more; but I am so far glad that this motion has been brought forward, because I do think, that in addition to the papers which are upon the table, the clear justification of my noble friend (Lord Clarendon), who has had the principal management of these negotiations, must have been such as to satisfy your lordships that there has been no want of prudence, foresight, or skill, in the management of these most difficult and complicated negotiations; and I have not the least fear in appealing, not only to this House, but to the country, not merely for an acquittal of her Majesty's Government from blame, but I would almost venture to trust that there may be approbation of their conduct. (Cheers.)

Midway in the debate Earl GREY delivered a speech, bearing against both sides, adopting Mr. Cobden's views, and repudiated by both sides. His argument was that the original fault of the Government was in having permitted themselves to be drawn into the original quarrel between Turkey and Russia; and arguments were not wanting to show that they ought to have pursued a more pacific course. Because Russia had done wrong, it did not follow that we should interfere on behalf of Turkey, as we had no treaty to entitle us to do so. But it was said that our interference was required upon grounds of national policy, because it was of European importance to maintain the independence of Turkey. It was bitter mockery to talk of the independence of the Ottoman empire; and he called upon the Government to define what they meant by it. Did they mean by it the authority of the Sultan over his subjects? The character of the Turks was that which it had always been. This was proved by their harsh and cruel treatment of the Christian population, in which it was hopeless to anticipate any permanent improvement. This he contended was the expectation entertained, as appeared from their respective despatches, both by the Foreign Secretary and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. He quoted Mr. Layard to show that the Mussulmans were also treated with extreme tyranny and a total want of faith. Such being the character of Turkey, he asked whether the maintenance of the Ottoman

empire, which would perpetuate such evils, could possibly be an object for which this country ought to make any sacrifice whatever? But it was said that Turkey must be maintained as a security against the aggressions of Russia. Now he was unable to concur in the popular apprehensions of Russian aggression—first, because a nation of slaves could never become really formidable; and next, because corruption and peculation were destroying the efficiency of the public service of Russia. He ridiculed the notion of a Russian invasion of India; and, adverting to the despatches, expressed an opinion that peace would have been preserved if Turkey had been allowed to accept the Russian ultimatum. He drew a picture of the evils to Turkey and her allies, resulting from the adoption of the opposite course, and suggested the possibility of a Greek insurrection aided by Russia. Should such an event occur—and it was far from improbable—would the people of England and France consent to interfere on behalf of the Mahomedan, while Russia defended the Christian population? He thought not. The inevitable result of such a rising must be the destruction of the Turkish empire; and where then would be the utility of our interference? What should we have gained by it? Having dwelt upon the inexpediency of interfering with the affairs of other countries, the noble earl concluded by declaring that in his opinion the course which her Majesty's Government had entered upon was pregnant with danger.

The actual upshot of the debate was the withdrawal of a motion, only made for the purpose of delivering a speech; and the practical upshot was that Lord Derby and Lord Clanricarde alike declared they would forget the past and support the Government for the future.

In reply to Mr. Disraeli, Lord JOHN RUSSELL had every reason to believe that the letter of the Emperor Napoleon published by the *Moniteur* was authentic. The British Government had been informed by that of France that they thought it desirable that an effort should be made, by means of an autograph letter from the Emperor of the French to the Russian Emperor, to procure a termination of the disputes which had so long subsisted. The English Government, when in possession of the nature of the letter, replied that they had no objection to such a step being taken, and suggested certain modifications, which had been substantially adopted. Whilst perfectly agreeing with the general contents of the letter, they would not say that every particular word or phrase was such as they would have proposed. They entirely approved the step taken as a most laudable endeavour to prevent the outbreak of war.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR stated on Thursday the existing evils regarding testamentary jurisdiction—evils which had been admitted for twenty years, and which are perfectly well known. Having made out his case, he stated the provisions of the bill for redressing those evils, which he laid on the table.

I propose to transfer to the Court of Chancery the contentious business; but ninety-nine out of one hundred of the entire cases belong to the class of business which is called 'common form' business; that is to say, it consists in this—the will is brought by the party interested, probably, to his solicitor; by the solicitor it is brought to the proctor, who submits it to a certain functionary of the court, and great accuracy is necessary to see that all is right. It is afterwards submitted to the deputy-registrar or registrar of the court, and the will then passes. If there be any difficulty about it the registrar speaks to the judge of the court; and if the difficulty cannot be removed, then it becomes contentious, and a motion is made to the court. What I propose on this subject is this—I propose at once to transfer to the Court of Chancery all the staff as it now exists. I believe that the functionaries discharge their duties satisfactorily, and I believe that all of them should be transferred at once from the ecclesiastical court to the Court of Chancery. The business will go on in the usual way, except that it will be under the control of the Lord Chancellor instead of being under the control of the Prerogative Court. I propose, as the registrars will not have the advantage which they now have of communicating from time to time with the judge of the court, for that cannot be conveniently done in the Court of Chancery, to constitute one principal registrar whose business it shall be to superintend all this common form business, and secure by his experience what has been pointed out by the commissioners to show the advantages of having the matter in one court—namely, that the court will become acquainted with all the details, and obtain knowledge which otherwise might not be attained; and whenever a person shall die within any district, the affidavit of the executor will be conclusive on the subject, and he may, if he thinks fit, prove the will in the country instead of proving it in London. That arrangement is, however, confined to non-contentious business, because it would be utterly impossible to have fit persons—where there must be such a small quantity of business—to deal with any of those delicate questions that from time to time arise as to the validity of wills. But even that is a matter not always very easy to deal with, and it is extremely important that inaccuracies on the subject should be avoided; and to afford security for that purpose, I propose that the party shall bring the will to the registrar, and that when the probate shall be prepared, the will shall be eventually sent up to London, to be kept where all original wills are to be kept.

The probate will be sealed in London, the original will and probate being examined, to see whether the right forms have been observed. I propose that for a period of six months the will itself shall remain in the country for examination. Under this plan, there will be one register kept of all wills in London, whether those wills be proved in London or in the country; and a proper index will be kept by which all persons may know where to find wills in which they are interested. We also propose to make probate extend to real as well as to personal estate. A difference of opinion has arisen with respect to the continuance of proctors, and I propose eventually to get rid of proctors. What I propose is, to maintain for a limited time the proctors; the consequence will be that solicitors will get acquainted with the business, and eventually the proctors may be entirely got rid of. (Hear.) I do not say that it is essential to the scheme, but I think that some way or other we ought to get rid of such an extraordinary anomaly. To sum up the contents of our scheme, we propose to abolish all existing jurisdictions over wills, and to transfer to the Court of Chancery all contentious jurisdiction and all the non-contentious which is now carried into operation in London. We propose that the subject matter of the jurisdiction shall be all property left by will, whether it be real or personal estate, and that for cases where deceased persons have left a small amount of property which can be properly managed in the country, there shall be district registrars appointed, who shall be little more than persons who will examine the apparent accuracy of the instruments, and to transmit them to the central registry, whether they are proved in London or in the country, so that the benefit of the system should be extended throughout the whole of the kingdom, whether the property be large or small." (Hear, hear, hear.) The noble and learned lord then concluded by thanking their lordships for the kindness with which they had listened to him.

The bill met with a general concurrence, and was read a first time.

**RATIONS OF THE TROOPS.**—Lord W. GRAHAM repeated his question of a former evening, as to the scale to be adopted in future in the supply of rations to her Majesty's forces?

Mr. S. HERBERT was anxious to state correctly the details of the arrangement which had been made. At the present moment the troops were supplied with rations in four different ways. Troops stationed abroad were supplied through a fixed stoppage on the payment per day, they receiving abroad less pay by one halfpenny a day than they did at home. In Ireland the troops were rationed by regimental contract, each regiment making its own contract, and supplying itself; and the stoppage oscillated with the price of provisions, up to a maximum of 6d. In England the troops were supplied by public contract, but likewise with an oscillation depending on prices, up to a maximum of 6d., and if it exceeded that the Government paid the difference. The artillery and household troops were also supplied on the same regimental system as those of the line. At this moment, in consequence of the extremely high price of provisions, the cost of the rations had come up to the maximum. In former years it was constantly a maximum; but in those times, when the comforts of the soldier were less cared for than at present, the troops had not the advantage they enjoyed now, of three meals a day. The result was, that now, when the ration had reached the maximum of 6d., it was almost impossible for the soldier to provide himself a due quantity of food. Under these circumstances the Government had to consider what arrangement should be made in order to supply the deficiency, and this was what was proposed—in lieu of having a charge for the soldier oscillating with the price of food, there should be a fixed stoppage, so that the soldier should have no interest in the market price of food; but, on the other hand, he should be charged more for his food on an average than under the scale hitherto in use, and thus it might be expected that a competent supply of food would be secured to him. Looking back ten years, it would be found that the ration had actually cost a sum varying practically from 4d. to 5d. a day, and it was proposed that for the future it should not exceed 6d. The supply would be by public contract, and care would be taken that there should be no undue proportion of bone in the meat, and that the bread should be white bread, and not seconds. That change was introduced last year, very much in consequence of the representations made by the honourable baronet the member for Petersfield (Sir W. Jolliffe). Further than that, in order that there should be no chance of the soldier being prejudiced in another respect, a strict account would be kept as to official contracts, and the arrangement would last for five years.

**BRIBERY.**—Sir FITZROY KELLY obtained leave to bring in a bill to prevent bribery and intimidation at elections. First, he proposed to appoint a public officer at every election—a person of character, knowledge, and probity—to whom all moneys due on account of elections must be paid over by the candidate, with the view of preventing any money being paid through indirect channels for illegal or corrupt purposes, and who should have the whole management and control of the expenses of the election. The candidate would be required to swear that he had made no payments on account of his election to any other person. He proposed that this election officer should be a barrister, appointed by the judges, as the revising barristers were. The candidate was to declare to the election officer the names of the agents employed by him, and no others were to be admissible; these agents must also take an oath before the election officer in conformity with that taken by the candidate, and which would have the like effect with regard to all funds placed in their hands, whether proceeding from clubs, subscriptions, or other sources. Expenditure for processions, music, and the like was to be prohibited. The bill further contained a series of provisions for enabling the electors to give their votes by means of voting papers, accompanied by safeguards against fabrication, mutilation, and fraud. This would get rid of all the tumult agitation, and violence, often attended with danger to human life, heretofore prevailing; so that the voter might, if necessary, give his vote at home. The evil of intimidation and undue influence would in like manner be mitigated, if not

altogether remedied by the machinery he proposed. The giving of the vote should consist in the act of signing the voting paper, and the declaration therein contained, which was then to be delivered to some competent person for transmission to the returning officer. For this purpose the magistrates of the county or town would sit at fixed places, for three or four days after the nomination, to receive and transmit the voting papers. By this plan, even in the most numerous constituencies, the greater part of the votes would be given at an early period of the election, without pressure or inconvenience.

The Liberals naturally asked why, if Sir Fitzroy wished to meet the evil, he did not take a simple remedy—obviously the ballot? The bill met with little favour.

**AFFIRMATIONS FOR OATHS.**—Mr. PELLATT (for Mr. Blackett) asked Lord John Russell if it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to introduce any bill this session to authorise persons entertaining conscientious scruples to taking an oath, and not authorised by the acts already existing, to make affirmations instead?

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said the Law Commissioners had recommended such a change, and it would form one of the provisions of a bill which was to be introduced into the other House of Parliament.

**TENANT RIGHT.**—Mr. Serjeant SHEE obtained leave to bring in a bill to provide compensation for improvements made by tenants in Ireland. The measure, he stated, would not materially differ from that which passed the House last session, and would work beneficially for both landlord and tenant. The learned serjeant entered into a technical explanation of its provisions at considerable length. He did not propose to proceed with the measure beyond the first reading until the bill which the Government had in contemplation on the same subject should have been introduced.

**MISCELLANEOUS.**—Mr. LOCKE KING obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the law of succession to real property in cases of intestacy. His object was to apply to the succession to real property the same rules by which that to personal property was now regulated. He considered the present state of our legislation on this subject a disgrace to a free and civilised country.

Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE moved for leave to bring in a bill for the appointment of public prosecutors.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL thought he should have leave to introduce his bill, and stated that the whole subject was under the most serious consideration of her Majesty's Government.

Mr. OLIVERA proposed a resolution declaring the present rate of duty charged upon foreign and colonial wines excessive and impolitic, and that the same be reduced to a uniform rate of one shilling a gallon. He argued that wine was to be looked upon as almost as much a necessary article of consumption as tea, coffee, or cocoan, and that any diminution to the revenue caused by reducing the duty would be more than made up by increased consumption. A great social benefit would be attained by the substitution of the use of wine for that of ardent spirits and strong adulterated drinks. He concluded by stating that, in the present condition of public affairs, he should not press the motion.—The SPEAKER observed that the honourable gentleman, having made his speech, had left the House without any question before it, and set a precedent which he hoped would not be followed.

**TRUCK.**—Mr. FORSTER obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the Truck Act, by prohibiting "Tommy" shops and raising the penalties.

#### THE NEW REFORM BILL.

The following are the schedules attached to the important measure. It will be seen that the schedules of disfranchisement, A and B, would vacate 62 seats—viz., A 29, and B 33. The total disfranchisement of boroughs therefore comprises 62 seats. With respect to additional members, Schedule C gives 46, Schedule D 10, and Schedule E 6; total, 62. The number of seats enfranchised therefore exactly balances those disfranchised; and the number of the House of Commons remains the same:—

#### SCHEDULE A.

Boroughs having less than 300 Electors, or less than 5,000 Inhabitants.

		Members at present returned.
Andover	...	2
Arundel	...	1
Ashburton	...	1
Caine	...	1
Dartmouth	...	1
Evesham	...	2
Harwich	...	2
Honiton	...	2
Knaresborough	...	2
Lyme Regis	...	1
Marlborough	...	2
Midhurst	...	1
Northallerton	...	1
Reigate	...	1
Richmond (Yorkshire)	...	2
Thetford	...	2
Totnes	...	2
Wells	...	2
Wilton	...	1

19 boroughs.

members 29.

#### SCHEDULE B.

Boroughs having less than 500 Electors, or less than 10,000 Inhabitants, now Returning Two Members, to Return in future One Member only.

Bodmin	Lichfield
Bridgnorth	Maldon
Bridport	Malton
Buckingham	Marlow (Great)
Chichester	Newport (Isle of Wight)
Chippingham	Peterborough
Cirencester	Poole
Cockermouth	Ripon
Devizes	Stamford
Dorchester	Tamworth
Guilford	Tavistock
Hertford	Tewkesbury
Huntingdon	Tiverton
Leominster	Weymouth
Lewes	Windsor
Ludlow	Wycombe (Chipping)
Lymington	Total, 33 members.

#### SCHEDULE C.

##### ADDITIONAL MEMBERS TO COUNTIES.

Counties and Divisions of Counties containing a Population of more than 100,000, at present Returning Two Members, for the future to Return Three Members.

Bedford	Middlesex
Chester—Southern division	Moamouth
— Northern division	Norfolk—Western division
Cornwall—Western division	— Eastern division
— Eastern division	Staford—Northern division
Derby—Northern division	— Southern division
Devon—Northern division	Somerset—Western division
— Southern division	— Eastern division
Durham—Northern division	Salop—Northern division
— Southern division	Suffolk—Eastern division
Essex—Northern division	Surrey—Eastern division
Gloucester—Western division	Sussex—Eastern division
Kent—Western division	Warwick—Northern division
— Eastern division	Worcester—Eastern division
Lancaster—Northern div.	York—East Riding
Lincoln—Parts of Lindsey	— North Riding—
— Parts of Kesteven	Wales.
and Holland.	Glamorgan ... 1

#### WALES.

Divisions of Counties now Returning Two Members to be Sub-divided, and Each Sub-division to Return in future Three Members.

Lancashire—Southern div.	1 York—West Riding—
Additional members, 46.	

#### SCHEDULE D.

CITIES AND BOROUGHS TO RETURN FOR THE FUTURE ADDITIONAL MEMBERS.

Cities and Boroughs containing more than 100,000 inhabitants, at present Returning Two Members, for the future to Return Three Members each.

Birmingham	Manchester (city)
Bristol (city)	Sheffield
Bradford (Yorkshire)	Southwark
Leeds	Wolverhampton—9.
Liverpool	

Borough now returning One Member to return in future Two Members:—

#### Salford—1.

Additional members, 10.

#### SCHEDULE E.

UN-REPRESENTED PLACES TO RETURN MEMBERS IN FUTURE.

Towns containing more than 20,000 inhabitants to Return in future One Member each.

Birkenhead	Burnley
Stalybridge—3.	
Inns-of-Court to Return in future Two Members.	

London University to Return in future One Member.

Additional members, 6.

The following are the new franchises granted by the new bill:

1. Persons in receipt of salaries from public or private employment of not less than 100*l.* per annum, paid quarterly or half-yearly.

2. Persons in receipt of 10*l.* per annum, derived from Government stock, or Bank or India stock.

3. Persons paying 40*s.* per annum to income or annual taxes.

4. Graduates of any University in the United Kingdom.

5. Persons who have for three years possessed a deposit of 50*l.* in any savings bank.

NEW FRANCHISE FOR COUNTIES.

6. All occupiers rated at 10*l.* per annum, residing elsewhere than in represented towns.

NEW FRANCHISE FOR BOROUGHS.

7. All occupiers rated at 6*l.*, who have been resident within the borough two years and a half.

#### THE BRITISH WAR CONTINGENT.

WAR dawns upon us in earnest, and this day the first section of the British contingent for the defence of Turkey leaves our shores. We are about to send ten thousand choice infantry to the defence of Turkey. The division will consist of three battalions of the Guards—the 4th, 28th, 33rd, 50th, 77th, and 93rd Regiments of the line, and the second battalion of the Rifles Brigade. The Artillery force will include five field batteries, and one brigade for small-arm batteries. Respecting the cavalry nothing has been decided.

It is gratifying to relate that, as soon as it was known that the regiments about to set forth required several hundreds to complete their numbers, volunteers instantly came forth and filled up the gaps. Doubly gratifying it is to know that among the foremost are the riflemen who only returned on Sunday from the Cape, and the Sappers and Miners from the same quarter. Throughout the army there prevails a martial enthusiasm, not the less powerful because it is based in knowledge of the question at issue, and fired by a hatred of Russia.

To convey these troops to Malta, and thence to Constantinople, Government have chartered ten of the magnificent screw steamers of the great steam companies. Tenders have been demanded for sailing vessels to convey the heavy munitions of war; and they have been plentifully offered.

London saw on Tuesday a sight it has not seen for many years. It was publicly announced that the portion of the household brigade, comprising two battalions of the Coldstream Guards, would take their departure from the metropolis about noon on that day, for Chichester, *en route* for Malta and Constantinople, and long before the time large crowds of persons had assembled contiguous to St. George's Barracks, in the rear of Trafalgar-square, while the balconies and windows around the latter spot, as also at Charing-cross and the Strand, were filled with well-dressed females, to witness the exciting spectacle. Precisely at half-past twelve the troops, about 700 in number, headed by Colonel Bentinck, issued from the barracks-gates, amidst the most hearty cheering of the assembled multitude. On reaching the open area of Charing-cross, the cheering was repeated, and the waving of handkerchiefs by the fair occupants of the windows materially added to the general enthusiasm which prevailed. The troops marched along the Strand, passing over Waterloo-bridge, past the Elephant and Castle, by the New and Old Kent roads, to the New-cross station of the London and Brighton Railway, from whence they proceeded to Chichester. Throughout the whole line of march the same demonstrations of popular feeling were displayed, and many friends, both male and female, as well as many others, accompanied the troops the whole distance. In the Kent-road several singular scenes presented themselves (amid the numerous heartfelt "farewells" and "God speeds" expressed), among which may be mentioned a general rush upon and purchase of the stocks of all vendors of oranges by the public for the soldiers, nearly all of whom were supplied with some of that fruit, whilst others contrived to imbibe copious draughts of more potent fluid than orange juice. The troops arrived at New-cross in good order and high spirits.

In the same manner the Eton boys and Windsor people assembled, and heartily cheered the detachment that, on the same day, left Windsor for London, destined ultimately for Constantinople. The popular enthusiasm is a great thing.

The whole expeditionary force, when assembled, will amount to 20,000 men.

We believe, says the *Globe*, that the following appointments, in reference to the military expedition to the East, may be considered as determined on:—

Lord Raglan to command-in-chief; Lieutenant-General Fergusson, C.B., commanding the troops at Malta, to be second in command; Major-General the Duke of Cambridge, Colonel Bentinck, Coldstream Guards, Colonel Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., Colonel Eyre, 73rd Regiment, to command brigades; Colonel Cator to command the Royal Artillery; Colonel Airey, now military secretary to Lord Hardinge, to be Adjutant-General; Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. A. Gordon, Grenadier Guards, to be Deputy Adjutant-General; Colonel A. W. Torrens to be Quarter-master-General.

The Guards will not leave England until Wednesday next. On Thursday night the officers of the Coldstream Guards and Scots Fusilier Guards partook of a farewell banquet together, at the London Tavern, previous to their embarkation for the seat of war. The Duke of Cambridge presiding.

Recruits are reported as coming in fast; and in this respect Dublin and Belfast carry away the palm. Manchester displays an ardent war spirit, but the race is so depreciated there (alas, how unlike the men of Samuel Bamford's time!), that very few who offer pass the medical examination.

#### THE FLEET.

The naval preparations are now chiefly directed to the formation and complete equipment of the fleet which is to be sent early next month to the North Sea and the Baltic, and which is to consist of the following ships:—

		Guns.
Duke of Wellington (screw)	...	131
Neptune	...	120
St. George	...	120
Royal George (screw)	...	120
St. Jean d'Arc (screw)	...	101
Princess Royal (screw)	...	91
Cesar (screw)	...	91
Nile (screw)	...	91
James Watt (screw)	...	91
		Devonport.

		Guns.
Prince Regent	...	90
Monarch	...	84
Cressy (screw)	...	81
Majestic (screw)	...	80
Boscawen	...	70
Cumberland	...	70
Blenheim (screw)	...	60
Hogue (screw)	...	60
Edinburgh (screw)	...	58
Ajax (screw)	...	58
Impératrice (screw)	...	51
Euryalus (screw)	...	51
Arrogant (screw)	...	46
Pique	...	40
Amphion (screw)	...	34
Dauntless (screw)	...	33
Tribune (screw)	...	30
Leopard (paddle)	...	18
Magicienne (paddle)	...	16
Valorous (paddle)	...	16
Desperate (screw)	...	8
		Western squadron.

This list speaks for itself, and requires no comment. It includes twenty screw ships, and mounts 2200 guns!

"The preparations for war here," says the Portsmouth correspondent of the *Times*, Feb. 12, "are upon a stupendous scale. Were the Russians coming to Portsmouth, instead of the fleet going from Portsmouth towards Russia, greater stir and excitement could scarcely prevail afloat and ashore. An enormously heavy battery has been lately thrown up on the site of the well-known platform promenade, which used to parade 21 little 6-pounders, the duty of which was comprised in saluting royal and other distinguished personages. This new battery will mount about a dozen 68-pounders on traversing platforms, pointing over a brick and earthwork parapet about nine feet high, commanding the entrance to the harbour. Recruiting parties, with fife and drum, are daily parading the garrison and suburbs; the volunteering for the naval service goes on quite as briskly, and the utmost enthusiasm may be noticed in every street and embarking place. Vans, omnibuses, and other vehicles may be seen rolling along the main thoroughfares from the railway terminus as each train arrives, containing seamen and volunteers in fifties, all greeted with the warmest reception by the population, and seemingly as jolly among themselves as sailors bent on favourite service can be. In a few days a matchless fleet will be formed at Spithead. The pioneer of this great force emerged from the harbour yesterday afternoon—the *Hecla* steam-sloop, Master-Commander Peter Wellington, which is appointed to make surveys before the advance of the fleet intended for operations in the Baltic."

#### TREATMENT OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

The following letter, on a subject to which we have devoted a special paper this week, reached us after our article was in type. We think the remarks of our correspondent well deserving attention at the present moment. At the same time, our military reader will do us the justice to remember that the *Leader* has never spoken of the army but in the most cordial and respectful terms. Indeed, we have, on more than one occasion, been exposed to the malevolent insinuations of a certain class of "liberal," for defending the honour of the army against mean assailants. We have not waited for war to claim justice for the national services. It was in this spirit that we lamented Wellington, and forgot the politician of the past in the soldier of all time.

Army and Navy Club, Feb. 14th, 1854.

Sir,—I am rejoiced to observe a much improved tone among public men and public bodies in their allusions to the army and navy; it may be that a sense of dependence on the gallantry of our two services influences the minds of those who, when peace seemed secure, cared little for the hardships endured by our brave and patient defenders.

Within the last few months much has been done for both services, but much still remains; the *Times* and almost all the other daily organs have lifted up their voices for justice to the soldier, and only one unenlightened individual has had the temerity to utter his unheeded opinion, that the soldier should not in any way be assisted in a state of almost semi-starvation, certainly of very insufficient diet.

The ignorance of this man, who selects for himself the name of "Justus," is equalled only by his un-Christian and un-British spirit.

The full pay of a Dragoon (for having been in that service, I can better speak of it; and "Buffstick," writing from Dublin, has told an unvarnished tale of the privations of the Infantry quartered there)—the full pay, I say, of a Dragoon amounts to the magnificent sum of £8. 9d. a week, unless he has been long enough in the service to obtain a good conduct stripe, when he has 1d. per diem *extra*, and so on for each five years of good conduct. I am writing from memory merely, and so must be excused if I am guilty of any involuntary error.

From this £8. 9d. he is bound by the regulations to spend a daily sum not exceeding 10d. in his rations—consisting of cocoa (generally) and bread for breakfast, soup and vegetables for dinner; and, within the last eight years, a strange mixture called tea, in the evening. The way this 10d. was spent out in these days of scarcity, till it pleased the Government, after three months' consideration, to issue provisions at the average price of the last three years, must have been

a puzzle for the most strict domestic economist. "Justus's" letter smells so of Manchester, that I need not remind him that all other labourers in the country, including probably the workmen in his own manufactory, have been able to insist on a rise of wages in proportion to the great rise in the necessities of life. Living in an agricultural district in the west, I am able to state to you that, employing myself upwards of fifty daily labourers, the lowest wages ever paid was 10s. weekly, and I know at present of no man who is receiving less, unless he is paid 9s. a week and three gallons of cider.

Of course, it would be absurd to compare a soldier's pay with this; but if you take into consideration the eternal calls on the small stipend remaining after his rations are paid for, and read the list of necessaries he is obliged to keep in good order, and which are inspected weekly by his captain, and renewed or repaired at his order and at the soldier's expense—all of which is not only quite indispensable, but, as it appears to me, the only way by which you can make the careless man keep his kit in proper order—the deductions for shirts, flannels, new boots, or repairs to those allowed; new jacket and smalls, when those issued at a long distant period are worn out; brushes and curroons, which at least, I think, should be given at stated intervals, and only renewed when they have met with unfair usage; gloves, stock, and a host of other articles; reduce the good and careful soldier's means to next to nothing, and keep the careless man in constant debt to his captain.

I do not venture to find fault with the system, I know no other that could be devised to ensure to each man a proper supply of necessaries, and to make him take care of them; but I do think that his pay is not sufficient even in the best of times, and I know that the food issued to him has been, of late, insufficient, and not so good as that given to our convicts. In fact, a gentleman well qualified to give an opinion, thus classifies the difference of comfort in various situations of life:—

1. The convict in New South Wales.
2. The convict at home, in the hulks.
3. The inhabitants of our penitentiaries.
4. The soldier and sailor.
5. The denizens of the workhouses.
6. The Dorsetshire labourer.

Our troops are second to none in the world—our navy superior to any,—surely we should do all we can to elevate the position of our soldiers and sailors. Economy is, indeed, misplaced when their comfort is to be curtailed. We should make their position enviable. I have only just seen a young man who was formerly full of military zeal. His brother enlisted some time ago, and has been at home now on furlough: we hear no more of the military ardour so burning a short time ago. Soldiers should be able to come home and talk of their superior position, and not have to lament the bread and cheese they left behind them.

I should, however, regret if any words of mine dissuaded a single individual from entering the finest service in the world. A step in the right direction has been taken; the press and the public are aroused; and every man who now goes into the service may depend on his interests and his necessary comforts being the subject of the watchful care of the authorities. The preparations for the approaching embarkation show us that they are alive to the necessity of bringing our men to the scene of action in the highest condition.

I wish the concession now made had come earlier, it would have been with a better grace.

One word more: I saw the other day, in a provincial paper, a statement that English officers are overpaid. It is so notorious that no officer ever gets the interest of his money and outfit, save of course the engineers and artillery, that so absurd a statement is worth noticing. A man who has been at hard work all his life in our service, if he reaches a general's rank, is very lucky to get the regiment which Messrs. Cobden and Co. so grudge him, the clear profits of which, if it is in the most valuable cavalry regiment, amount to about £1000 a-year; a retiring allowance no tradesman would consider a competency.

As long as English gentlemen can be found to spend their whole lives in their country's service, without the possibility of any remuneration or provision for their children, let them do so, but give them the honour due to their disinterested conduct, and do not let it be supposed that they have all manner of "good things" to divide.

Yours faithfully,

CINCINNATI.

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The journals, said the *Moniteur* of Tuesday, having reported incorrectly some passages from the letter that the Emperor Napoleon addressed on the 29th of January last to the Emperor Nicholas, it is necessary to correct the alleged facts by publishing the original text:—

"Palace of the Tuilleries, Jan. 29, 1854.

"SIR,—The difference which has arisen between your Majesty and the Ottoman Porte has arrived at such a point of gravity, that I think it my duty myself to explain directly to your Majesty the part that France has taken in that question, and the means which I perceive of avoiding the dangers which threaten the repose of Europe.

"The note that your Majesty has lately sent to my Government, and to that of Queen Victoria, tends to establish that the system of precision adopted from the beginning by the two maritime Powers has alone envenomed the question. On the contrary, it would, I think, be better to have remained a Cabinet question, if the occupation of the principalities had not transported it all at once from the domain of discussion to that of facts. Nevertheless, your Majesty's troops once entered in Wallachia, we have not on that account the less recommended to the Porte not to consider that occupation as a case of war, thus testifying our extreme desire for conciliation. After having concerted with England, Austria, and Prussia, I had proposed to your Majesty a note destined to give common satisfaction; your Majesty has accepted it. But scarcely were we made aware of this good news when your Minister, by explicative commentaries,

destroyed all the conciliatory effects of it, and thereby prevented us from insisting at Constantinople on its pure and simple adoption. On its side the Porte had proposed modifications on the project of note which the Four Powers represented at Vienna did not find unacceptable. They had not the approbation of your Majesty. Then the Porte, wounded in its dignity, threatened in its independence, involved by the efforts already made to oppose an army to that of your Majesty, preferred declaring war to remaining in that state of uncertainty and abasement. It had claimed our support; its cause appeared to us to be just; the English and French squadrons received the order to anchor in the Bosphorus.

"Our attitude with respect to Turkey was protective, but passive. We did not encourage her to make war. We incessantly directed counsels of peace and moderation to be carried to the ears of the Sultan, persuaded that it was the means of arriving at an understanding; and the Four Powers came to a new understanding to submit other propositions to your Majesty. Your Majesty, on your side, showing the calmness which arises from consciousness of strength, limited yourself to repelling, on the left bank of the Danube, as well as in Asia, the attacks of the Turks, and with moderation worthy of the chief of a great empire, you declared that you would remain on the defensive. Until that time, then, we were, I must say, interested spectators, but simple spectators of the struggle, when the affair at Sinope occurred, and forced us to take a more defined position. France and England had not considered it necessary to send troops to be disembarked to the aid of Turkey. Their flag was, therefore, not engaged in the conflicts which took place on land. But on the sea it was very different. There were at the entry of the Bosphorus three thousand guns, whose presence said very plainly to Turkey that the two first maritime Powers would not permit them to be attacked on sea. The affair of Sinope was to us equally offensive and unexpected, for it signifies little whether the Turks had wished or not to pass munitions of war into the Russian territory. In fact, the Russian ships came and attacked the Turkish ships in the waters of Turkey, and, when tranquilly moored in a Turkish port, they destroyed them notwithstanding the assurance given of not making an aggressive war, and notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the squadrons. It was no longer our policy that received a check in that affair; it was our military honour. The cannon shots of Sinope have echoed mournfully in the hearts of all those who in England and in France have a strong sense of the national dignity. With one common accord the cry was raised, 'Wherever our cannon can reach, our allies ought to be respected.' Hence the order given to our squadrons to enter the Black Sea, and to prevent by force, if necessary, the recurrence of a similar event. Hence the collective notification sent to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, to announce to it that, if we should prevent the Turks from making an aggressive war on the coast belonging to Russia, we should protect the re-victualling of their troops on their own territory. As regards the Russian fleet, in interdicting to it the navigation of the Black Sea, we placed it in different conditions, because it was important during the existence of the war that we should preserve a pledge which should be an equivalent for the parts occupied of the Turkish territory, and which should facilitate the conclusion of peace by becoming the title of a desirable exchange.

"That, Sire, is the real train and the series of the facts. It is clear that, arrived at that point, they must produce promptly either a definitive understanding or a decided rupture.

"Your Majesty has given so many proofs of your solicitude for the repose of Europe, you have so powerfully contributed to it by your beneficent influence against the spirit of disorder, that I cannot doubt your resolution in the alternative which presents itself to your choice. If your Majesty desires, as much as I do, a pacific conclusion, what can be more simple than to declare that an armistice shall be signed to-day, that things shall resume their diplomatic course, and that all the belligerent forces shall retire from the places where motives of war have called them?

"Thus the Russian troops would abandon the Principalities, and our squadrons the Black Sea. Your Majesty, preferring to treat directly with Turkey, would name an ambassador, who would negotiate with a Plenipotentiary of the Sultan a Convention which would be submitted to the Conference of the Four Powers. Should your Majesty adopt this plan, on which the Queen of England and myself are perfectly agreed, tranquillity will be re-established, and the world satisfied. There is nothing, in fact, in this plan which is not worthy of your Majesty, nothing that can wound your honour. But if, by a motive difficult to understand, your Majesty should oppose a refusal, then France, like England, would be obliged to leave to the fate of arms and to the hazards of war that which might be decided to-day by reason and by justice.

"Let your Majesty not think that the slightest animosity can enter my heart; it feels no other sentiments but those expressed by your Majesty yourself in your letter of the 17th of January, 1853, when you wrote to me, 'Our relations ought to be sincerely amical, and to repose on the same intentions—the maintenance of order, love of peace, respect for treaties, and reciprocal benevolence.' That programme is worthy of the Sovereign who traced it, and I do not hesitate to affirm that I have remained firm to it.

"I pray your Majesty to believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and it is in these sentiments that I am, Sire, of your Majesty the good friend, *NAPOLEON.*"

This extraordinary document was regarded in Paris rather as a manifesto to the French nation than as an appeal to the Czar, and the general impression was decidedly warlike, as was clearly manifested by a fall of 13 per cent. in the funds.

*La Patrie*, usually considered as a semi-official journal, hinted in rather ambiguous terms that an unfavourable answer had already been received from the Russian Emperor when the letter was published. For this announcement the *Patrie* received a warning, and the *Moniteur* of Wednesday declared that the French Government had not received any answer to the letter, and that it was not expected for a few days. Yet the *Pays*, a Government journal, conspicuously

reproduced the paragraph of the *Patrie*, while the *Constitutionnel*, under the same management, said not a word about it. This looks like discord in the camp. The fact appears to be that a telegraphic message (via Vienna) had been received from General Castelbajac announcing the unfavourable reception of the letter by the Emperor Nicholas. The French Government, in imitation of our own, has published in the *Moniteur* a complete election of the French diplomatic documents on the Eastern question. This publication under an arbitrary Government is certainly a homage to the force of public opinion. So far as the French papers permit us to judge, they do credit on the whole to M. Drouyn de l'Huys in the conduct of the negotiations. Surpassing, as all French state papers do the productions of Downing-street in terseness and occasional elegance of style, they certainly evidence a moderate, firm, and conciliatory policy pursued by France ever since the disavowal of M. de Lavallée, who may be said to have afforded Russia the first pretext for interference with Turkey. In the earliest documents we recognise a spirit of marked consideration for Turkey, and throughout an emphatic desire of frank co-operation with England, a desire to which our Government does not appear to have responded very heartily at first. The series of documents commences with January 25, 1853, and terminates with February 1, 1854. There are many chasms in the correspondence, as may be judged from the following enumeration. The published papers are, eight letters of M. Drouyn de l'Huys to General Castelbajac, thirteen to Count Walewski, and one to M. Baudin (acting as chargé d'affaires in London during a temporary absence of the ambassador), three letters to M. de Lacour, some time French Ambassador at Constantinople; three to M. de Bourquenay at Vienna; two to M. de Moustier at Berlin; two protocols and an *anexa* of a protocol of the Vienna Conference; one circular of M. Drouyn de l'Huys to the French diplomatic agents near the German confederation; two letters of M. de Kisseloff to M. Drouyn de l'Huys; one letter from M. Drouyn de l'Huys to M. de Kisseloff; and one letter from M. de Nesselrode to M. de Kisseloff. We remark two important omissions in this publication. Very little of the correspondence with the ambassadors at Constantinople is given about French relations with Turkey, and the documents chiefly relate to negotiations with England and the German Powers. Not a word is published of the replies of the ambassadors to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this respect our blue-book leaves less to malevolent speculations.

An important decree in the *Moniteur* completely reorganises the artillery. This branch of the military service, our readers may be aware, has long been the special study of Louis Napoleon.

The libretto of M. Halévy's new *Opéra comique*, *L'Etoile du Nord*, founded on an episode in the reign of Peter the Great, was under the consideration of the censorship, on account of its unavoidable allusions; but, under existing circumstances, it has been allowed to pass with few corrections.

Paris is already making war upon Russia, and avenging the invasion of the Cossacks, by dramas and spectacles in which the Russians are defeated with disgrace, and by an incessant fire of epigrams in the *Charivari*. At the Imperial Circus, *Les Cosaques* are routed night after night before enthusiastic audiences. At the Variétés an *à propos*, called *Mesdames les Cosaques*, is announced.

M. Leverrier, senator, has been appointed director of the Observatoire, in the place of François Arago, deceased. M. Le Sueur, architect of the Palace of Fontainebleau, is appointed the imperial architect, to superintend the completion of the Louvre, for which the lamented Visconti has left complete drawings, estimates, and specifications.

The Russian emigration from Paris is settling in Brussels. M. de Kisseloff has been attending the receptions of the Prussian and Austrian ambassadors in that city. The Princess Lieven, the Egeria of M. Guizot, and relict of a former Russian ambassador to London, has arrived in Brussels. At her last reception in Paris, M. de Rothschild assured her that her friends would make pleasure trips to visit her in the Belgian capital.

Louis Napoleon has given the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour to the Duc de Brabant, and appointed lesser decorations in the same order to M. de Brouckère, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to his brother, the Burgomaster of Brussels. By way of return, the King of the Belgians has given the order of Leopold to Prince Napoleon Jerome; and in both cases the cause assigned is the desire to testify the friendly sentiments entertained. These compliments are exchanged between the grandson of Louis Philippe and the presumptive heir and cousin of the author of the decrees confiscating the possessions of the House of Orleans! M. de Kisseloff in leaving Paris was accompanied by the whole *personnel* of the Legation. There now remains only the Russian Consul-General in Paris.

There has been almost a suspension of news from the seat of war in Asia and on the Danube this week. General Guyon has resumed the offensive in Asia with 30,000 foot, 5000 horse, and 140 guns.

There have been constant skirmishes near Kalafat and along the line of the Danube, but nothing decisive.

The Russians are concentrating their operations in Lower Wallachia. The disgrace of General Gortschakoff is not confirmed, but General Aurep has been superseded, and sent to the rear of the army in Asia.

On the 29th of January Prince Gortschakoff directed in person a grand *reconnaissance* before Kalafat. The Turkish outposts retired into their entrenchments. At Widdin and Kalafat a decisive attack was expected daily.

The affair of the 29th, at Kalafat, is described by the military correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* as follows:—

"On the 29th, 300 Cossacks made a dash up towards Kalafat, drove the pickets in, who imagined that there was a

large force behind them. They got up to within 1500 yards of the works, when three round shot were sent after them from as many Turkish batteries; the Cossacks, who have an extreme aversion to that species of missile, galloped back again. Their escape had the effect of turning out the whole Turkish force, who remained under arms for some hours."

The Turkish Governor is described as perfectly ready to give the Russians a warm reception. It appears that the Russian troops in Lesser Wallachia are forbidden by an order of the day to go beyond a mile from their camp, or to have any dealings with the treacherous natives.

This seems to prove the disaffection of the provinces.

Letters from Constantinople, of the 2nd instant, state that the Seraskier, Mehemet Pacha, has been dismissed, and that he is succeeded by Riza Pacha; the appointment is thought a good one. It was Riza Pacha who organised the army of the Danube.

H.M.S. *Fury*, sent to Sebastopol with a second message, was unable to approach the port, which was completely blocked with ice. Captain Tatham, in his zeal to accomplish his mission, tried to force his way in one of the ship's boats through the ice, but was compelled to abandon the attempt. The Russian Government notified that its fleet in the Black Sea is laid up during the winter months as usual.

A corps of Engineers is employed in marking out a camp near the Sea of Marmora, for 40,000 men. This place is six miles from Constantinople.

The Sultan proceeds to Adrianople in March. The Turkish convoy entered the Black Sea on the 1st. The report that a Russian squadron had taken advantage of the return of the fleets to the Bosphorus, to bombard Fort St. Nicholas on the Asian coast, and had been repulsed with severe loss, is not confirmed. It seems to be a confusion of the affair of the 6th of January, with a more recent land attack on the fortress.

Schamyl had received from Turkey a large store of arms and money. He had also been joined by some officers to drill his men. He was pushing forward his armaments with great energy, and almost all Abasia had pronounced in his favour.

The accounts from Wallachia are most deplorable. The Russian "protectors" it seems, treat the *protected* somewhat in the same fashion as the Spanish conquerors treated the Indians when they refused to work or find gold for their haughty masters. It has been already stated that the Wallachians have been obliged to do the work in which beasts of burden are usually employed, and that crowds of the peasants and farmers have fled their homes rather than submit to the cruel *corvée* imposed by their taskmasters. The Russian general had ordered that women and young girls should do the work imposed on them by the troops. This was resisted by a numerous body of peasants; but having no arms, they were nearly all massacred. Such are the orthodox defenders of order, and the saviours of religion and society. At the same time, the great protector of Europe against the revolution is stirring up insurrections in Albania and Greece.

The Russian commissioner-general in Moldavia has ordered the confiscation of all the personal property of Grigory Stoura, son of the ex-hosipdar, because he has offered his sword to the Sultan, his sovereign. This order has produced the worst possible effect on the public mind.

The stories of Omer Pacha's illness prove to have been German fabrications. He is in perfect health.

Disgraceful riots have occurred at the Royal Opera in Turin, almost equaling the famous O. P. riots in Kemble's time. The *terribile causa* of the disturbances was the partisanship of a clique for Madale Alaymo (known to her Majesty's Theatre), in opposition to Madame Stoltz. The latter lady having been grossly insulted, refused to sing again. This created fresh disappointments, and at length scenes of actual violence occurred in the theatre, which led to arrests by the police. This is not, it is true, in itself, a matter of much consequence; but in the present temper of men's minds any disturbance is converted into a weapon of political attack; and while the Radical prints are complaining of the tyranny of the Government, the clerical papers state with pride that such exhibitions could only take place under constitutional government.

The Scandinavian Powers are arming actively and increasing their navy. The Swedish national spirit is thoroughly aroused, especially since the envoy from Russia arrived at Stockholm to lay a protest before the King against the armed neutrality. The funds have been willingly voted by all four estates of the united Swedish and Norwegian Diet, and several ships of the line, as well as frigates and corvettes, are being fitted out.

The *Madrid Gazette*, of the 10th, contains a decree ordering that the bill presented to the Cortes on Stock Exchange operations shall be carried into effect. Amongst other things, it authorises time-bargains, which have heretofore been prohibited.

King Pedro V., of Portugal, is expected to visit Berlin, Brussels, Paris, and London. A marriage with a Princess of Belgium is talked of.

Cardinal Wiseman is expected to prolong his stay in Rome.

Serious bread-riots have again taken place at Perugia and Ravenna.

All the officers of the army of Algeria, who were in France en congé, have left it to return to their regiments, on a peremptory order to that effect from the Minister of War. Up to this time no order has, it appears, been given for the embarkation of troops in the French ports.

Two Greeks, who were accused of betraying the plans of the Turkish General to Prince Gortschakoff, had been sent by Omar Pasha before a court-martial, at which the Greek Bishop of Shumla and another prelate were present. The two prisoners were proved to be guilty, and were sentenced to death.

The combined fleets were in Bosphorus, about ten miles from the mouth of the Bosphorus, at the latest advices. Admirals Sir Edmund Lyons and Barbiere de Ternan had orders to convoy a number of Turkish steamers and transports conveying 10,000 troops, gunpowder, and other warlike stores to Batoum, and to cruise with six steamers in the Black Sea, reporting themselves from time to time to the Admirals-in-Chief. The English merchants at Trebizond had solicited the protection of the British fleet.

A steam-boat bearing English colours, and called the *Haydee*, is said to have got ashore near Sebastopol, and to have been seized by the Russians, having Turkish troops on board. This wants confirmation.

#### AMERICAN NOTES.

THE Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald* says, "There is now reason to believe the President will not submit the Gadsden treaty to the Senate, but direct negotiations to be resumed with the Mexican Government. The reasons assigned for this course are, that the Gadsden treaty does not adjust any way the Tehuantepec question, and that, as that question has been made the subject of diplomatic action by the Government of the United States for more than two years, it would still leave open a serious matter of dispute between the two Governments were the Gadsden treaty to be ratified in its present shape; and, secondly, that the clause inserted in the Gadsden treaty, providing that the United States are to give up to Mexico all American citizens and others within our limits who may be charged with filibustering against Mexico, is entirely opposed not only to the policy and feeling of the people of the United States, but would be derogatory to our character as a nation."

With respect to the foreign policy of the Union, the *New York Herald* has the following paragraph in an article on the departure of Mr. Carroll Spence, Minister to Constantinople:—

"Our foreign policy is non-intervention in European affairs, and non-intervention from Europeans in the affairs of our American neighbours. But the European republican elements among our people, and our native progressive democracy, expect something more than masterly inactivity upon this eastern question. If peace is not soon attained our Government must interfere to effect a settlement; and failing, must prepare for the practical contingencies of intervention in the war. Our relations and our policy are peace with all parties, but our passive neutrality must give way to action when the quiet of the world is at stake."

"In any event this country, having become sufficiently powerful among the nations to speak, even in European affairs, when the general peace is involved, may be expected by the parties in this Eastern controversy, if they do not soon come to terms, to claim a hearing in the matter both at Constantinople and St. Petersburg. A definitive and positive attitude on our part among the courts of Europe can no longer be delayed in any question which threatens our peaceful reciprocities with the European nations. Impregnable against any foreign assault at home, this republic has at ready command the materials for a powerful armament on the sea, notwithstanding the smallness of our regular navy. Our vast commercial marine, to a great extent, is susceptible of ready conversion for active naval service. We have also the sinews of war beyond the reach of any other power. We alone of all nations, have a surplus revenue so large, and still accumulating, that we are puzzled what to do with it. Only a small part of it will be required to set Santa Anna firmly upon his wooden leg in his new empire. The bulk of this surplus will be available for other purposes. Thus, while impregnable at home against the world in arms, we have the sinews of war, and the means in every form, for a decisive hand in the European struggle, if forced into it."

Lieutenant St. John, R.E., Mr. Forde, C.E., and others of the party connected with the Darien Canal survey, recently arrived from England, were at Panama on the 17th January, intending shortly to proceed to the River Savannah, emptying into the Gulf of San Miguel, and at once enter upon the discharge of the important duties devolving upon them. The Government of Bogota had manifested its desire to facilitate and protect the surveying parties as much as possible, by appointing Colonel Codazzi with 200 soldiers and a corps of fifty Sappers and Miners to act in concert with them. From the *Panama Star* of the 17th of January we learn that a portion of the force under Captain Prevost, of her Majesty's steam sloop *Virago*, who left Panama with the intention of exploring the Gulf of San Miguel, and making a tour across to the Atlantic, had been cut off, and massacred.

On the 26th January a large meeting was held at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, when it was resolved to call the attention of the American Government to the duty of securing protection to its citizens residing or travelling in foreign lands with respect to the rights of conscience and religious worship. One resolution declared that it is time the basis of the international law should be enlarged so as to include religious liberty for all men, to whatever nation they may belong, and that England and the United States ought to take the lead in bringing about this great change.

#### CITY MATTERS.

THE state of the gas in the City has long occupied attention. At a meeting of the Sewers' Commission, on Wednesday, the subject was introduced by a

report from the Committee on General Purposes, to whom was referred a statement made by Dr. Letheby, that he had found 21 grains of oil of vitriol in 100 cubic feet of gas. The committee recommended that Dr. Letheby should be allowed to proceed with certain experiments, with a view to test the quality of the gas supplied to the city of London by the various gas companies, and also to promote its purification. This suggestion of the committee was adopted. A report was then read from Dr. Letheby respecting the power and quality of the gas supplied to the city by the Great Central Company. This report stated, that during the last three months, the power of the gas had been nearly 22 per cent. greater than was required by act of Parliament, and that the result of various experiments was highly satisfactory. The report then congratulated the court upon having directed public attention to the purification of gas, as one of the most important sanitary and commercial questions of the day. Nearly 4,000,000,000 cubic feet of gas were now annually consumed, of which about 500,000,000 were supplied to the city of London. The consumption of gas in London was nearly trebled since 1837, but hitherto nothing had been done to control the companies engaged in its manufacture. Coal-gas was liable to be contaminated with four impurities calculated to injure the atmosphere; but, as science could furnish a remedy, and render the gas pure, the report suggested that those in authority should pay attention to the subject, as the use of coal-gas "might become either the greatest curse or the greatest boon of the 19th century."

A deputation of farmers and graziers of the neighbourhood of Peterborough waited upon the Lord Mayor, with a memorial signed by the Marquis of Huntley, the Earl of Fitzwilliam, and many owners and occupiers of land in that vicinity, who were desirous that the market-day, for the sale of cattle, should be altered from Monday to Tuesday. The Lord Mayor said he had received similar memorials from the city of Peterborough, signed by the bishop of the diocese, and also from Northampton, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire; and in Oxfordshire, another memorial, having the same object, had received the signatures of the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Blandford, the Earls of Abingdon, Jersey, and Macclesfield, and of all the large landed proprietors around Oxford. He promised the deputation that he would present the memorial to the Court of Common Council, and give his earnest support to the wishes of the members.

#### POOR-LAW REFORM.

A PUBLIC meeting was held on Wednesday, at the London Tavern, convened by the Association for the Equalisation of Poor-rates, for the purpose of aiding in carrying out that measure and the abolition of the laws of settlement and poor removal. The Lord Mayor took the chair at two o'clock, and, immediately on doing so, Mr. D. Iffanger, of Marylebone, and other representatives of the large metropolitan parishes, and members of the Anti-Centralisation Union, protested against the unfairness which had been exercised in only permitting the opponents of the Equalisation Bill two tickets for the platform. Considerable confusion and cry of "Fair play" were the result, and the requisition convening the meeting was read amid shouts of derision and great uproar, although the room was at no period of the meeting more than half-filled. The Lord Mayor explained the object for which the meeting had been convened, and dwelt upon the hardships which the law of settlement and poor removal inflicted on the pauper poor.

Lord Berners moved "That the existing laws of settlement and removal are cruel and oppressive to the poor, by subjecting them, in the time of affliction and distress, to be removed to the place of their legal settlement. That the said laws are unnecessarily expensive to the rate-payer, and totally inapplicable to the present time, and ought to be abolished." Mr. Wise, M.P., seconded the resolution. Sir James Duke, M.P., while he agreed in the observations which had been made, nevertheless, warned the gentlemen who had promoted this meeting that they might be taking a step which would lead to the principles of centralisation. (Cheers).

Mr. Toulmin Smith rose to move an amendment, and was received with applause and uproar. He also proceeded to show, amid loud interruption, chiefly from the platform, that the result of the proposals of the persons who had got up the meeting was likely to lead to centralisation, and he complained, not only of the treatment of the opponents of that principle had received at the hands of the Lord Mayor and those who had got up the meeting, but that they had paraded the meeting as being called at the instigation of the metropolitan parishes. All the large and important metropolitan parishes repudiated it. He was proceeding to establish his position, when he was interrupted by cries of "Question," and the Lord Mayor, amid great confusion, called on the speaker to sit down. Several appeals were made for fair play and order by the chairman,

and ultimately Mr. Smith, under a protest that he had not been permitted to address a meeting of Englishmen by a partial chairman, moved the following as an amendment:—

"That, whatever tends to lessen the opportunity and obligation of local action and responsibility, or to withdraw the inducement to taking part in local affairs, is injurious to the common welfare and highest interests of the nation."

Mr. W. Billett, churchwarden of St. Pancras, amid tremendous cheering and uproar, seconded the amendment. He said it was a pity the promoters of the meeting could not find an inhabitant of the metropolis, but must go to the landowners to move their resolutions. (Cheers and uproar.) They were ashamed of John Day's equalisation of poor-rate scheme; but, as all the poor-law officers who had signed the requisition for the meeting were to be themselves provided for for the term of their natural lives, they had no doubt a great interest in the matter. (Cheers, laughter, and uproar.)

The Lord Mayor called the speaker to order, and threatened to call the police, amid general confusion and groaning.

Mr. Geeain (late churchwarden of St. James's, Westminster)—"I rise, my lord, to order."

The Lord Mayor—"I shall immediately order you into custody.—Send for the police." (Groans, hisses, and great uproar; amid which several policemen appeared at the back of the platform.) The Lord Mayor said he could not receive the amendment—(uproar)—as an amendment, but as he was sure they all agreed with it, he would put it as a substantive motion. (Loud cries of "No, no," from the supporters of the amendment, mingled with cheers and renewed confusion.)

Mr. T. Smith, Mr. Billett, Messrs. Fuller and Elt, of Islington, and other gentlemen, protested against the amendment being put in any other form than as an amendment. The Lord Mayor, however, persisted; and having taken a show of hands for and against the original resolution, he declared it to be carried, and, amid further protests, he then put the amendment as a substantive motion, and declared, amid shouts of derision and uproar, that also to be carried.

There were still five other resolutions to be adopted; but the cries of "Adjourn" and "Dissolve" were so great, that the Lord Mayor quitted the chair, and declared the meeting adjourned, and those assembled separated amid great confusion.

#### THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD BILL.

OPINION in Manchester is still alive on the education question. There was another contest in the city council on Wednesday, respecting the Manchester and Salford Education Bill. Last year the initiative of opposition was taken by the volunteers; this year the secular party stood forward. In a somewhat thin house, scarcely more than a quorum, Alderman Heywood proposed the following resolutions:—

"That this council fully recognises the necessity of legislation for the purpose of providing free schools for, and of securing the attendance therein of, the poorest, most destitute, and dependent classes of children in this country, in order to lessen the many social evils and diminish the amount of crime resulting from the want of education, which at present unfortunately exists. That in the opinion of this council any legislation on the subject of education ought to be of general, and not local and special character, and ought to be proposed for the consideration of the House of Commons by and upon the responsibility of her Majesty's Government. [That whilst unprepared to approve of the principle, and strongly objecting to many of the details] of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill, this council protests against its introduction as a private bill into the House of Commons, and resolves that the necessary steps be taken for opposing its progress on behalf of the corporation. That it be an instruction to the committee for general purposes to carry out this resolution; and that under the direction of such committee a petition against such bill be prepared, and the common seal of the corporation affixed thereto, and the same presented to the House of Commons."

Councillor Thompson seconded the motion, after a long pause, and an animated discussion ensued, and was maintained for a lengthened period. Ultimately, upon the suggestion of Councillor Medcalf (who, it should be stated, has hitherto been the chief supporter of the bill in the council), the following words, "That without giving an opinion on the principles or details," were substituted for those we have put in brackets, and the resolutions then passed unanimously.

#### HEALTH OF LONDON.

(From the *Registrar-General's Return*.)

THE total number of deaths registered in London in the week that ended on Saturday, was 1178. It exhibits a decrease on that of the preceding week, and is exactly the same as the number returned in the last week of January. The mortality in the last four weeks has varied little, and the mean weekly temperature of the same times (about 42 deg.) has been singularly uniform. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1844-53, the average number was 1093, which, corrected for increase of population, becomes 1202. Last week's return is less than the estimated amount by only 24.

Last week the births of 925 boys and 872 girls, in all 1797 children, were registered in London. In the nine corresponding weeks of the years 1845-53 the average number was 1513.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.981 in. The highest mean was 30.129 in. on Friday; the lowest 29.807 in. on Sunday. The mean temperature of the week was 42.0 deg., which is 3.7 deg. above the average of the same week in 38 years. On Monday and Tuesday the mean daily temperature was respectively 13.0 deg. and 9.1 deg. above the averages of the same days. On Friday and Saturday it fell below the average. The highest temperature of the week was 57.0 deg. on Monday; the lowest 32.2 deg. on Saturday. The mean dew-point temperature was 36.4 deg. The wind blew from the south-west till Thursday afternoon. The horizontal movement of the air on Monday was 315 miles. The rain-fall of the week was 0.25 in.

#### ARREST AND MANSLAUGHTER OF A POACHER AT LINCOLN.

CONSIDERABLE sensation has been produced in the neighbourhood of Steep-hill, Lincoln, during the past few days, from the circumstance of Messrs. Stephen and George Hardcastle, superintendents of the northern and southern division of the police in this county, apprehending a well-known poacher, named George Fieldsend, who lodged in Jew-court. It appears that Fieldsend, in company with others, was poaching at Blankney, on the night of the 24th ult. A man named William Wilkinson was captured, taken before the bench of magistrates at Sleaford on the 6th instant, and Wilkinson having been convicted of night poaching on two or three previous occasions, he was sentenced to six months' hard labour, and ordered to find two sureties of 5*l.* each, and himself in 10*l.* for two years' good behaviour. Fieldsend, after being captured on the night of the affray by the keepers and their dogs, was left prostrate on the ground, handcuffed—one of the keepers saying at the time, "That devil's done for." In the mean time, whilst they had gone in pursuit of Wilkinson, whom they captured, Fieldsend raised himself up and made his escape. He found his way to Bracebridge, knocked up the blacksmith there, and requested him to strike off the handcuffs, but he refused. They were, however, taken off by some other person, and Fieldsend arrived safe at his lodgings. He had received a blow on the forehead, and he bled very much, and was in a most deplorable condition. His clothes were torn to pieces by the dogs, and his shirt was covered with the blood which had flown from his wounds. A warrant was issued for the apprehension of Fieldsend, and the execution of it was entrusted to the superintendent of the southern division of county police, George Hardcastle, brother to Mr. S. Hardcastle, of Lincoln. When he arrived in Lincoln he sought the assistance of his brother, and finding that Fieldsend was under medical care, application was made to Mr. Simpson, the surgeon, to know if he might be removed. The answer given on the last inquiry was that he might be removed to the county gaol, but not to Sleaford, if great care was used. An uncovered car was procured, and the Hardcastles went to Fieldsend's lodgings, where he was still in bed, compelled him to get up, carried him down stairs, and forced him in the car, and he died during the time they were lifting him in. The officers thought the deceased was "shamming" illness, and they drove to the county gaol at a rapid rate, but the warden would not receive the corpse. An inquest was opened on Saturday last, and concluded on Monday evening, when the witnesses who were examined, spoke to the inhuman conduct of the police. The coroner dwelt upon the illegality of the arrest of the deceased, and the jury, after ten minutes' deliberation, returned a verdict of "Manslaughter against both the superintendents, the Hardcastles," and the coroner issued his warrant for their committal to Lincoln Castle for trial.

#### THE PRESTON LABOUR-BATTLE.

(From our Correspondent.)

Preston, Thursday.

ANOTHER week of active excitement has passed over Preston, apparently without hastening the termination of this disastrous dispute. The conclusion of a battle is often the fiercest, and the events of the week have certainly put the temper of the work-people to the severest possible test. In the first place, the poor-law guardians have no alternative but to refuse relief to all persons able to work, and the operatives (without reflecting that the guardians have no option in the matter) consider this as fighting on the side of the masters. Several men, who have been content to accept parish labour, and to allow their wives and children to seek the shelter of the workhouse, are now told that the law will be put in force to compel them to maintain their wives and families properly.

The placards and bill-posters of the week are before me, and they present many curious points for consideration. During the week, arrangements have been made between Mr. Almond and his hands, and Mr. Rodgett and his hands, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, and the establishments of these gentlemen are now at work. It would appear that upon an examination of the prices paid by these employers in March last, they corresponded so nearly with the Blackburn Standard List, that the Unionists could not be otherwise than satisfied with them. When it was known throughout the town that these hands were to go in, reports were industriously cir-

culated, by some, that the ten per cent. had been conceded, by others that the hands had given way. This drew forth from the Committee of the Masters' Association a placard, "By ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE," giving the report that an advance had been given an "UNQUALIFIED CONTRADICTION," and stating that Mr. Rodgett has promised to pay the same prices he paid in March last, viz. 8*d.* per cent of 40 yards." On the other hand comes a poster from the Weavers' Committee, announcing that "Mr. Rodgett's hands are paid by the Blackburn Standard List." Now both of these statements are true, and perfectly reconcilable. To debate small points can only excite the present bad state of feeling, without effecting any practical result, and only prove to the impartial that both sides are influenced by a dangerous and improper desire to obtain a victory.

The Central Committee of the Operatives, meeting at head-quarters in Manchester, appear to view with great alarm and disfavour the experiment of opening the mills. An extraordinary placard, purporting to be a manifesto of the trades' delegates, representing the amalgamated engineers, machinists, stonemasons, carpenters and joiners, boiler-makers, steam-engine-makers, moulderers, tailors, boot and shoemakers, black and white smiths, coach-builders, cabinet-makers, tin-plate-workers, letter-press printers, flaggers and slaters, cloggers, sawyers, painters, brush-makers, curriers, tobacconists, bricklayers and bricklayers' labourers, is headed by a quotation from the writings of Thom, "The Inverary bard," depicting the toils and sorrows of the working man, and, after a good broadside of abuse levelled at "the cormorants of capital," concludes with the following inflammatory sentence:—

"We have a duty to perform that we owe to ourselves, our wives, and our children, and the non-performance of such duty would entitle us to a just reprobation from our brethren at large. We, therefore, call on the working-classes of this country, and in doing so, do not ask for clemency or sympathetic condolence, we demand of you a performance of your duty at the present juncture of affairs; we call on you, in the sacred name of Union, to cherish and protect principles for the espousal of which so many victims have suffered fine and imprisonment at the hands of the *ruthless, relentless, rapacious, and tyrant capitalists of this town*; and, lastly, we call on you, in the name of your own wives and children, whom you are pledged before Heaven to protect, to pour in your contributions a little while longer; and, Heaven approving of our just cause, we will for ever crush that *hydra-headed monster, Capital, that has for such a length of time made our homesteads the abode of misery, want, and all the concomitant evils inseparably connected with such a state of being*; for be it remembered that, 'HE WHO KNOWINGLY PERMITS OPPRESSION SHARES THE CRIME.'

Still more rhapsodical and inflammatory is the following address from the Spinners:—

"TO THE WORKING CLASSES OF PRESTON.

"FELLOW-TOILERS.—The tenacity with which our employers cling to starvation-wages would excite our wonder, did we not know with what veneration they have always worshipped and bowed the knee before the idol of their hearts—MAMMON.

"In the commencement of this struggle they gloated over the misery they would bring upon us, and vauntingly exclaimed that they would make us lick the dust from their feet in a month.

"Such inhuman ideas could only find a place in the minds of beings callous to every noble sentiment and feeling of the human heart and mind, and can find no parallel except amongst the merciless Indians beneath the Rocky Mountains, or the colossal savages of Patagonia. Even they would have smoked the pipe of peace before now, buried their hatchet, and assembled their braves around the watch-fires, to ratify a peaceful treaty for the future. The pale-faced masters of Preston may go and learn a lesson from the untutored children of the western wilds, and rise from the lesson wiser, better, and happier men. Every artifice that demonology could invent has been put into operation to enrage, intimidate, and bring you to a slave-like submission. As a last resort, you are now called upon to surrender yourselves, body and soul, to the ringing of a factory bell, the flashing of a gas-light, and the guardian care of soldiers and policemen, who would be doing commerce, liberty, and civilisation far more service on the shores of the Danube than on the banks of the Ribble.

"Will you now, in the eleventh hour, ground your arms, and stand humbled and despised before the universe? Is all the money that has been subscribed by the people of Great Britain to be the same as if sunk in the depths of the sea? Can you now, when public sympathy is stronger in your favour than at any time during this contest, run like our dogs to your work as the knell of freedom—a factory bell—sounds through your borrough? After braving the severities of winter, and each day bringing nearer to you summer and warmer times, when the primrose and the violet will woo you to their side, are England's sons and daughters to see you give up your right to live comfortably by your labour, and resume your trials at the workhouse wages you have received far, far too long?

"LET EVERY WORKING-MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD IN PRESTON EXCLAIM, SO HELP US GOD, NEVER! NEVER! NEVER!!! AND MAY GOD PROTECT THE RIGHT.

"By order of the Committee,

"MICHAEL GALLAHER, Sec."

Here is eloquence gone mad! This Mr. Gallaher is of Celtic origin, and is said to have been educated for a priest. Certainly, the above composition is quite worthy of the Irish hierarchy.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the total

number of persons at work in the mills of the Associated Masters, is about 1500; and of these Messrs. Herrocks and Miller have about 500. It should be observed, however, that a large proportion of these are overlookers, mechanics, engine-drivers, and persons who have been dependent upon the masters during the dispute.

The firm above-mentioned has no less than 65 overlookers, which are included in the 500. From this it will be seen that the real number of "knobsticks" is considerably under the total named above; nor must it be inferred that all the remainder are volunteers. The larger employers have the means of "putting on the screw" to a great extent, and they have not hesitated to avail themselves of that power to a degree which some consider reprehensible. Overlookers and mechanics who refuse to coerce their families into becoming "knobsticks," have been discharged; and there is good reason to believe that Mr. Miller has discharged a blacksmith, who had been in the employ of the firm for thirty years, because he did not bring his daughter to work at the looms. The power-loom overlookers, desirous of avoiding a quarrel with either party, met on Monday, and passed the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the power-loom overlookers of Preston are opposed to all strikes; but we are of opinion that to secure our own permanent safety, and to preserve our families from the indignation of the public, and the perpetual insults of our neighbours, it is our duty as well as our interests to take no active part between the contending parties, and while we are prepared to pay all due deference, and render all necessary obedience to our employers, we have a strong conviction that we are best serving the ultimate interests of the said employers by preserving a strict neutrality, at the same time beseeching both parties to come to a speedy and reasonable settlement of the present dispute, so that our town may resume its former quietude and prosperity."

In support of this the Unionists have solemnly pledged themselves never to accept any situation as overseer, in the place of any man discharged in consequence of carrying out the spirit of the foregoing resolution. Altogether, it is feared that these coercive measures of the masters are widening the breach, and inflaming the bad feeling of the operatives.

Large knots of the unemployed assemble round the gates of the principal factories during the dinner hour and at the time of closing, to watch the egress of the "knobsticks," but no disturbance has yet occurred. A trivial *émeute* resulted on Monday, from a proceeding taken by Mr. W. Ainsworth (Secretary to the Masters' Association) against a delinquent tenant. The rumours respecting this are confounding, but the following account is authentic:—The tenant had taken a moonlight flitting, whereupon Mr. Ainsworth caused the door to be opened and seizure to be made of such goods as were remaining. A crowd collected, and a scuffle ensued between a policeman and a man in the crowd, ending in the officer collaring the man. The bystanders sided with the man, and the policeman was summoned the next morning upon a charge of assault. The bench dismissed the charge.

It is gratifying to be able to announce that Mr. Hollins, of the Sovereign Mill, has agreed with his hands upon terms satisfactory to both parties. Untrammelled by the fetters of the association, this gentleman has acted throughout in perfectly independent spirit, and being now convinced that the demand for his goods warrants such a proceeding, he has consented to an advance in the price of labour. The advance does not amount to a universal ten per cent. (in some sorts it is only four), but his hands are perfectly satisfied with it. All the hands previously engaged at the Sovereign Mill are to go to work to-morrow (Friday) morning at nine o'clock; and as both master and hands have made some concessions, the best possible feeling prevails. This morning (Thursday) they held a meeting to consider how they should treat the hands who are already at work at the Sovereign Mill, when it was unanimously resolved to treat them as if they belonged to themselves. As Mr. Hollins has laid down a great deal of new machinery, there will be ample employment for all.

Adding up those who have sought employment in the factories belonging to the Associated Masters, Mr. Rodgett's hands, Mr. Almond's hands, Mr. Hollis's hands, and the hands employed by Messrs. Bashall, of Farington (who have arranged with their hands), we find that about 2500 persons totally unemployed a fortnight back have now returned to their work. But it is to be feared that the readiness with which those have returned affords no criterion of the future progress of the resumption. The hands of the union will be strengthened in a twofold manner by this partial return: they will have a less number of persons to pay, and more money to pay them with. The Associated Masters have done almost all that they possibly can by the screw system, and they have now to deal with those whom they have not the power to screw. They still adhere to the prices of March last as the basis of any possible terms with their operatives, and this principle the Union sternly refuses to acknowledge.

## MR. R. OWEN AND THE RECENT CONFERENCE AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS.

We have received the following letter from one whose name and life are entitled to all respect and sympathy. We regret that the misprint should have occurred, but we doubt not our readers found little difficulty in penetrating the involuntary disguise of the venerable philanthropist:—

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

Sevenoaks, 16th Feb. 1854.

DEAR SIR.—It is seldom I attend any public meeting, but when I do it is to perform what appears to me to be a public duty.

I attended the meeting of delegates from masters and operatives held lately in the rooms of the Society of Arts and Manufactures, because I had been a master manufacturer, employing some thousand operatives for about forty years, and had, for upwards of sixty years, taken a deep interest in the capital and labour question, and in the investigation of the causes which continually created differences between employers and employed. I had thus, through an experience seldom attained, made myself so much master of this subject as to ascertain, that in our new manufacturing system employers and employed were in a false position—the one became a tyrant and the other his slave, a position which should not exist in the British dominions, or, with the now wonderful increase of facilities for creating wealth, in any other country assuming to be civilised.

For the gain of one man or firm hundreds are deprived of education, natural health, and comforts, which may now with ease, under another system, be secured for all.

The older manufacturers, statesmen, and men of the world knew the deep interest which I had taken many years ago to obtain legislative relief for those employed in manufactures, a relief tardily given and yet very incomplete.

I was, therefore, desirous that masters and operatives should know what little I had the opportunity of saying at that meeting, intending, if it had been continued, to have fully explained the only practical remedy for the evil.

This desire arose from knowing that many masters and men place much reliance in my opinion on this subject, and the *Leader* is extensively read by employers and employed; it was, therefore, with regret that I saw in your report of that meeting what I had stated given as spoken by Mr. Owen, and your correction merely as R. Owen, which may be taken for Professor Richard Owen, Roger, or Ralph, or any other Owen beginning with an R.

To correct this error I request the insertion of this letter, And remain, dear sir, yours faithfully,

ROBERT OWEN.

## NEW LIFE BOATS.

A TRIAL of a new life-boat took place on Tuesday last, on the canal at Limehouse, in the presence of several experienced gentlemen in the construction and management of life-boats. The boat in question was designed by Mr. J. Peake, assistant-master shipwright in her Majesty's dockyard, Woolwich, and was built by the Messrs. Forrest for the National Institution for the Preservation of Life from Shipwreck, who purpose to place the boat at Ardrossan, on the coast of Scotland. Having been hove up, by means of an iron crane, the boat self-righted at once, and freed herself from the water she had thus necessarily shipped, in thirty seconds. The rapidity with which the boat emptied herself of the water, by means of self-acting delivering valves, was perfectly astonishing. One moment she was full of water—the next hardly a drop remained on her platform. On a trial of the stability of the boat, she bore seventeen persons on her side, to bring the gunwale down, with the tubes shut to the water, and twelve men were required to bring it awash, with the valves open. It will thus be observed, that the self-righting power of the boat has greatly diminished her stability. The trials were in every respect satisfactory, and the boat possesses also much strength, and appears to be well adapted for the important services which she will soon probably have to perform. The boat is 27 feet long, and, with her necessary gear, about 1500. Many similar boats, we understand, have during the past year been placed by the Shipwreck Institution on various parts of the coasts.

## PUBLIC KILLING IN GUERNSEY.

We have been favoured by the illustrious exile, Victor Hugo, with a copy of a most eloquent and indignant protest addressed by him to Lord Palmerston, on the subject of the execution of Tapner, who was hanged on the 10th inst., in Guernsey. The culprit was found guilty of murder, theft, and arson; but so decided a repugnance to capital punishment prevailed in the island, that petitions were addressed to the Home Secretary for the commutation of the capital sentence. One petition, by far the most eloquent and remarkable, founded on the principle of the inviolability of human life, was written by Victor Hugo himself, and signed by six hundred of the most enlightened inhabitants of Guernsey. The consequence of these emphatic appeals was, that a respite was obtained for the prisoner. Three times from January 27th to February 3rd, from the 3rd inst. to the 6th, and from the 6th to the 10th, Tapner was respite, and his case taken into consideration. His execution, after three repeated hesitations, appears to have excited a deep amazement. We cannot, however, consent to believe for a single moment, that it was owing to the interference of the Emperor of the French, offended, it is said, at the moral influence exercised by Victor Hugo, that the Home Secretary, after a third respite, ordered the law to take its course. The French alliance would be dearly purchased indeed, at the price of such base concessions. But we repeat, we do not believe any British Minister capable of so

revolting a degradation. Nor do we believe a British Minister capable of arriving at a decision involving a human life, without grave and earnest deliberation.

We regret to be quite unable, in this pressing moment of Parliamentary debates, and warlike preparations, to find space for the whole of this address, marked with all the characteristics of the noble writer's profound feeling and passionate style. Read this description of the execution, and its appalling incidents.

The legs were thrown convulsively about as if seeking some stay in the empty space; what could be discovered of the face was horribly disfigured; and the hands which had become loose, were clasped and relaxed, as if to implore assistance. The cord around the elbows had snapped in the fall. Amidst these convulsions the rope began to swing, the elbows of the poor wretch came in contact with the edge of the trap, he clung to it with his hands, rested his right knee upon it, raised his body, and seemed to lean towards the crowd. Again he fell; and twice, says the eye-witness, was the same scene repeated. He then raised his cap, and the crowd gained a sight of his face. This, it seemed, was too much. It was necessary to close the scene. The executioner re-ascended the scaffold and caused the sufferer (I still quote the eye-witness) to let go his hold. The executioner and his victim struggled for a moment; the executioner triumphed. Then this wretch, himself like one condemned, threw himself into the aperture where Tapner was hanging, straightened his knees, and hung to his feet. The rope oscillated for a moment, bearing the victim and the executioner, the crime, and the law. At last the executioner himself relaxed his hold; all was over; the man was dead!

A garden joined the prison. In this garden the scaffold was erected. A breach was made in the wall for the prisoner to pass through. At eight o'clock in the morning the neighbouring streets were crowded with spectators, of whom two hundred of the privileged were admitted into the garden. The man appeared in the breach. He walked erect and with a firm step; he was pale; the red circle, caused by anxious wakefulness, surrounded his eyes.

The month just passed had added twenty years to his age—man thirty years of age appeared fifty!

"A cotton night-cap was drawn over his head and turned up in front," says an eye-witness; "he was dressed in a brown coat, which he wore during the trial, and an old pair of slippers."

He walked partly round the garden, in a walk gravelled expressly for the occasion. The javelin men, the sheriff, the under sheriff, and the Queen's solicitor surrounded him. His hands were tied loosely as we shall presently see.

According to the English custom while the hands were crossed upon the breast, a cord bound the elbows behind the back.

Behind him the chaplains, who had refused to sign the petition for mercy, followed weeping.

The gravel walk led to the ladder—the cord was swinging—Tapner ascended the ladder—the executioner trembled. Inferior executioners are at times susceptible of pity. Tapner placed himself under the noose and passed it over his head, and his hands not being firmly tied, he desired the executioner, who seemed quite confused, to arrange the rope. Then, "as if he had had a presentiment of what was to follow," says the same eye-witness, he said, "tie my hands tighter." "That is unnecessary," replied the executioner. Tapner standing thus with the rope round his neck, and his feet on the trap, the executioner drew the night-cap over his eye and nothing more could be seen of that pale face, but the mouth moving as in prayer.

After some moments, the man destined to this high office pressed a spring—the drop fell, and the body fell abruptly through; the cord tightened, the body turned, and the man was considered dead.

"It was thought," says the eye-witness, "that Tapner was killed at once by the rupture of the spinal marrow, he having fallen four feet;" but the witness further adds, "the relief to our oppressed hearts did not last two minutes." Suddenly, the man not yet a corpse, but already a spectre, moved.

You see, sir, how things were managed; the effect was complete; for the town being built as an amphitheatre, everything was seen from the windows; all eyes were fixed on the garden. If it were the object to excite a feeling of horror, it was done; the crowd cried *shame, shame*, and several females fainted.

Between the time when Tapner fell into the trap, and that in which the executioner no longer perceiving any motion let go his feet, twelve minutes elapsed. Twelve minutes! Let that time be calculated, if any one knows by what clock to number the moments of suffering. Such, Sir, was the mode of Tapner's death.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

QUEEN VICTORIA returned to London on Monday and set up her court at Buckingham Palace. At once she revived her playgoing habits, attending the Princess's on Tuesday, and the Lyceum on Thursday. At a court held on Thursday she received the new Danish Envoy Extraordinary, General d'Olhoxon; and made Dr. Bowring a knight, on his taking leave of her Majesty for China.

A Cabinet Council sat three hours and a half on Saturday. All the Ministers were present.

Lord Paget has been returned for South Staffordshire by a majority of 1559 over Lord Ingestre. The numbers were:—Paget, 4328; Ingestre, 2769. This is a great Liberal triumph.

Political dinners flourish. On Saturday, Lord Derby, Lord Palmerston, Sir William Molesworth, and Lord Canning entertained political personages; and the Speaker gave his first sessional dinner.

Colonel William Edward Powell, M.P. for the county of Cardigan, has addressed a letter to the electors, in which he states that, in consequence of serious ill health, which he has every reason to believe will be of a permanent character, he feels bound to resign his parliamentary trust, with which he has been honoured during the lengthened period of thirty-eight years.

Mr. Henry Wyndham, son of Colonel Wyndham, of Midhurst, was elected on Monday at Chichester, as representative of the western division of the county of Sussex. Mr. Whitehurst, of London, was proposed in opposition to Mr. Wyndham, as being in favour of the ballot, but this latter nomination was not persisted in. Mr. Wyndham is a Tory.

Mr. Falk, Tory, has been elected member for South Devon, without opposition.

The Lords of the Treasury have consented to appropriate the fund arising from unclaimed money orders, and from unclaimed property in dead letters, to the payment of parts of the premium on the policies of such of the officers of the Post-office in any part of the United Kingdom, as may insure their lives. This fund now amounts to about £6000 a year, and there is an accumulation from past years of about £15,000, which is also to be applied to this purpose.

Her Majesty's Commissioners for building new churches have approved of the plans for a new church for the ecclesiastical district of St. Mark, in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster. They have also made conditional grants towards the erection of churches at the following places:—The district of St. James's, Hatcham; in the parish of Deptford; at Blackheath, in the parish of Greenwich; at Foresthill, in the parish of Lewisham; in the parish of Islington; in the parish of Hammersmith; in Oakley-square, Bedford New Town; in the district of St. John, Notting-hill; in Notting-place, in the district parish of St. Mary, Bryanstone-square; at Lorrimore-road, in the parish of St. Mary, Newington. Some of these churches have been commenced, and incumbents appointed to the districts which have been assigned to them.

On Wednesday, the 8th instant, Mr. Loch announced to the Court of Directors of the East India Company that it was not his intention to offer himself as a candidate for a seat in the direction, at the election of 15 directors, which, pursuant to the act of last session, will take place on the 8th of March next. Mr. Loch's address, which intimates this intention to the proprietors of East India Stock, will be found in another part of this paper.

Father Gavazzi lectured at Exeter Hall on Thursday night. He wore a black gown bordered with the Italian tricolour.

The report that Cardinal Wiseman will not return to reside in England has been revived.

John of Tuan has ordered the parish priests of his diocese to number the people, in order that the relative superiority of the "Catholics" over the "sectaries" may be made manifest.

Miss Margaret Cantwell has obtained £6000 damages against the firm of Carmack and Co., who prosecuted that lady on a charge of stealing a bit of ribbon. As she was a Roman Catholic, the trial caused immense excitement in Dublin.

Tapner, the murderer of Mrs. Sanjon in Jersey, has suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The killing arrangements were so bad, that the poor wretch was struggling several minutes before he died.

More than one of the Morning papers have been "authorized" to state that there is not the slightest foundation for a scandalous paragraph which has gone the round of the Scotch press, and has been copied into some of the London papers, relative to the presentation of plate by the Duchess of Hamilton to the chapel at Hamilton, and to its subsequent resumption by the Duke."

Garibaldi has arrived in London in command of a merchant ship from the United States.

A deputation laid some serious complaints of the conduct of the police in St. James's parish before Lord Palmerston on Saturday.

Lord Palmerston has intimated to the Marylebone vestry, through Sir B. Hall, that he will not give his sanction to the establishment of a cemetery in the parish of Willesden.

A baronial attempt is being made to obtain the garden of Lincoln's Inn-square as a site for the proposed law courts. Professor Owen gallantly resists the proposal, but the trustees and proprietors are at present too strong for him.

Lord Brownlow Cecil, son of Lord Exeter, applied at the Dover Insolvent's Court for his discharge. The schedule filed by the insolvent, who had been discharged on securities and surrendered, exhibited debts and liabilities amounting to £12,812, of which £8,649 was set forth as being without consideration, leaving the actual debts £5172, and they principally arose on "bill transactions." The insolvent had £151 owing to him, and it did not appear by the schedule that there was any available property for the creditors. There were sixty creditors and four debtors in the schedule. The insolvency was attributed to the heavy interest and discount paid on bills of exchange, which had been at least 200% a year, and to the allowance from the Marquis of Exeter, £270, being insufficient for the expenditure. The earliest debt was incurred in 1848, and none of the debts were of a late period. Among the items of expenditure there was one of £607, extending over several years, as "losses on racing transactions." There were several residences abroad. The insolvent had held a commission in the Scots Fusiliers Guards, and sold out some time back for £3000, which was accounted for in the schedule. He had resided some time abroad, and was arrested at Dover last month by a bill collector, on which he went to Dover Castle, petitioned the court, and obtained bail. Having answered all questions, he was discharged forthwith.

An attempt at garroting was successfully resisted at Buxton last week. Two ruffians tried to throw a noose over the head of a gentleman in Dundas-street. It fell on his forehead, and flinging it off, he struck out manfully with his stick, when the scoundrels ran away. One is in custody.

Five lives have been lost from a boiler explosion at Brierley-hill, Staffordshire. A boy at Shifield has died from the effects of a fall. A lady has been killed by an omnibus in Regent's-road. While the body was being conveyed to the hospital some scoundrels stole a ring from the lady's finger. A man has been killed by the shaft of a wagon in Piccadilly, a woman fell down dead in Hay-hill, May-fair.

The warehouse of Hargrave and Sons, Gresham-street, was, on Tuesday night, plundered of 6000L in notes, bills, &c. A fire at Bromley, on Monday, destroyed property worth several thousands of pounds, belonging to the Claussen's Patent Flax Mill Company. The firemen succeeded only in saving the engine-rooms and bleaching houses at the east end of the building, the other portions of the premises having been so much injured as to render them useless. Many persons are unfortunately thrown out of employ by this disastrous event.

The Parliament House and buildings at Quebec were entirely destroyed by fire at two o'clock on the 1st February, together with the most of their contents, including a valuable library. The flames were not discovered until they had gained too much headway to be got under, notwithstanding that a sentinel was on duty near the spot. The fire originated in the south of the buildings from the furnace. It is believed that part of the valuable library was saved, but the Historical Society's library and apparatus were almost entirely consumed. The manuscripts are all gone, and the museum is much injured. A part of the records were saved. The furniture and all the paintings in the Council and Assembly chambers were destroyed; but the portraits of the Queen and Sir Allan McNab were saved from the Speaker's chamber. The dome fell at half-past six o'clock in the morning. Inspector Wells offered Administrator Rowan to save two-thirds of the edifice if he would blow up the roof; three city councillors opposed it, and all was consequently destroyed. The west wing might have been saved but for a lack of water, there being two engines on the spot and a large concourse of people. The troops rendered great assistance. The buildings were insured for 30,000L and the Provincial Library for 6000L. It is not yet known which offices are the heaviest losers. No water was to be had, and it was very fortunate that the night was calm. The insurances are chiefly in Liverpool companies.

No fewer than 134 adders were found by some labourers employed in blasting and removing some granite boulders in the grounds of Colin House, Kirkcudbrightshire, lying concealed in a state of torpor, under the stones. The adders were killed forthwith.

On Tuesday afternoon the 3.0 p.m. train from Bradford ran into a goods train belonging to the London and North Western Company, at the Whitehall junction, near Leeds, and broke in pieces ten waggon, but none of the passengers were injured. The driver of the passenger train states that the signal was not shown, and the signal man asserts the contrary. The line was blocked up for several hours.

A correspondent of the *Durham Advertiser* says, it is reported that the Rev. Peter Barlow, incumbent of Cockfield, has given so much offence to several of his parishioners by wearing his beard, that they have discontinued their attendance at church!

In Sweden a new religious sect has sprung up called the Contemplators, because they believe that in meditating incessantly on the essence and qualities of God, which they call contemplating God, they attain the perfection of saints. They are more intolerant than the other sects in Sweden, as they think that everybody who does not join them will certainly be damned. Ten days ago, a peasant named John Olsson, of the village of Ottleselet, in the district of Tegus, province of Gothenburg, cut the throats of his two children, one aged a year and the other 18 months, to, as he said, preserve them from eternal condemnation.

Large numbers of Mormons, belonging to all classes, are emigrating from Wales to America.

The *Great Britain* has arrived at Liverpool from Melbourne, after a passage of 72 days. The *Himalaya* has returned to Southampton, after an extremely short passage.

Some of the old portraits of kings and councillors in the Bristol Council House have of late been undergoing a renovating or cleaning process, in course of which, according to the *Bath Chronicle*, a poor daub of a picture was washed entirely off one canvas, and a picture disclosed beneath which is believed to be one of C. Van Steen's, worth 400 guineas; while in another instance, a portrait of Charles II. resolved itself into another representative of his predecessor, James I.

## Postscript.

SATURDAY, February 18th.

Born Houses sat last night, the Commons discussing the Eastern question, and the Lords engaging in a mild debate on national education in Ireland.

In the House of Commons, Mr. LAYARD called the attention of the House to the present relations between England and Turkey.

Now that the House was called to go into committee to vote the navy estimates was the most appropriate time for the subject. The Ministers had continued to maintain so great a reserve, that the country was naturally doubtful as to its position in relation to foreign affairs, and he hoped those doubts would be now cleared, not only as to the fact, but as to the future proceedings of the Government. Discarding any party feeling, he could not but declare that he had long ago come to the conclusion that the policy of the Government was wanting in vigour and straightforwardness, and the perusal of the recent Blue Books had not changed his opinion

in that respect. He contended that even in the earlier months of last year the British Government had warning of the approaching danger from the military preparations, and from the diplomatic proceedings of Russia. He compared the despatches on both sides, and argued that the Government had overlooked the most obvious facts, and had misunderstood the unmistakable tendencies, and trusted to most fallacious assurances. The Ministry had insinuated that they could not at first get France to go with them; but every despatch showed that France from the outset of the proceedings was prepared to go forward and act in defence of Turkey, and every proposal for action, from the first, came from the French Government; whose conduct offered a striking contrast to that of the English Government. With regard to the affair of Sinope, he thought it demanded considerable explanation. On the 9th of October Lord Clarendon gave instructions that the fleets should be employed in defence of the Turkish territory; and to inform the Russian admiral at Sebastopol that they would resent acts of aggression; but instructions were also sent which prevented the Turkish fleets from conveying troops in the Black Sea, and these contradictory proceedings looked like the cause of that catastrophe. He contended that he made out the case against the Government that every step they had taken was a mistake. He then asked what the Government was going to do. They were told that we were neither at peace or war; he wanted to know on what terms the Government would make peace. The terms were contained in the letter of the Emperor of the French, viz., that the fleets should be withdrawn if the principalities were evacuated, and Russia should send a plenipotentiary to negotiate alone with Turkey. This last was the point Russia had all along contended for—that she might interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey; and it was to be yielded. After all the sacrifices to which England had been put in consequence of Russian aggression, he believed that the people would not allow the Government to negotiate on the terms proposed, and he would always oppose it, and he thought he would be supported by a large party in the House; for those terms would not touch the present treaties, and would establish the "status quo" before the commencement of the the existing differences. After all that had been done, and all the blood had been shed, we were embarked in a war which must be prosecuted until the treaties between Russia and Turkey were placed on a new basis, till the Danube and Circassia were thrown open to the commerce of the world, till the Black Sea was no longer a "mare clausum" and the highway to Persia given up, and the pretensions of Russia to interfere with the Christians of Turkey put an end to. He defended at length, and with great effect, the conduct of Turkey towards her Christian subjects, and combated the argument of Earl Grey, that Russia should be allowed to do as she pleased with Turkey, and take any position she chose in Europe. Alluding to the difference between the ambassadors and admirals at Constantinople, he urged that the instructions to the military commanders of the forces sent out should be precise and unambiguous, so as to prevent such occurrences for the future. He concluded by hoping that the Government would to-night remove all doubt as to our position, and he believed that if they did their duty the country would support them.

Sir J. GRAHAM commenced by putting the question as one of confidence or no confidence in the Ministry. The right honourable baronet showed by a reference to dates that England had been always forward in her assistance to Turkey, and contended that the course pursued by the Government had enabled them to cement a cordial union with France, to combine Austria and Prussia with the Western Powers against the pretensions of Russia towards Turkey, and had succeeded in isolating the Czar and changing the quarrel from a Turco-Russian to an European one, in which Russia stood alone. He urged that Government was prepared to carry on warlike preparations vigorously, deprecated the notion of interfering with going into supply by a side-wind motion against the Government, demanded that the straightforward, manly course of a direct motion of censure should be adopted, and concluded a very ingenious speech by declaring that he was ashamed to have trespassed so long on the House on a mere motion that the speaker do leave the chair.

Lord JOCELYN and Lord DUDLEY STUART followed and strongly defending the cause of Turkey as against Russia, and blaming the Government for their dilatory proceedings.

Mr. ROEBUCK inclined to the opinion, that it would be better not to civil and try to pick holes in the past conduct of the Government, but to support them at this juncture, and expressed an opinion, that although they might have gone on rather slowly, yet, that if they had gone on faster those persons who were now blaming them for being dilatory, would have been the first to censure them for tardiness.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL expressed his sense of the course taken by Mr. Roebuck, and objected to that taken by Mr. Layard, as calculated to deteriorate from the efficiency of the proceedings of this country, inasmuch as he attacked the conduct of the Government, and heaped accusations upon them without taking steps to put the issue on a question of want of confidence; he blamed and censured them, yet said they might take the votes. He declared his opinion that the conduct of Russia had been deceitful and untrustworthy all through the transactions which had taken place. The noble lord then went into a narrative of the negotiations, and vindicated the conduct of the Government with much spirit.

At the close of his speech, Mr. COBDEN moved the adjournment of the debate.

Lord J. RUSSELL expressed a wish that the vote for the navy should be taken before going on with the debate;

But, on Mr. DISRAELI stating that it was of importance that it should proceed before the vote was taken,

The debate was adjourned to Monday. The House shortly after adjourned.

Colonel BOLDERO brought the position of the naval assistant-surgeons before the House, with regard to their accommodation on board ship, and complained that a resolution of the House, of 1850, had not been carried out, and he made a motion, embodying that resolution, and pledging the House to see it acted up to.

Sir J. GRAHAM opposed the motion, and urged that the accommodation required would interfere with the efficiency of ships of war.

Some discussion followed, and the House divided.

For the motion .....	104
Against it .....	216

113

In reply to Lord Seymour, Lord JOHN RUSSELL stated there was no intention of placing all the military departments under one Ministerial control.

Sir J. GRAHAM, in reply to Mr. J. O'Connell, said, that he had not heard of any interference of the Roman Catholic priests in the volunteering in Ireland.

The debate in the House of Lords was preceded by the presentation of a petition by Earl FARNWELL, from the patrons of several national schools in Ireland, relative to the resolutions on the 5th of July last.

The Earl of EGLINTOUN moved for the appointment of a Select Committee, to inquire into the practical working of the system of national education in Ireland. He said he brought forward his motion in consequence of the circumstances which caused the retirement from the direction of these schools, last year, of two eminent members of the Irish Bench, and the Archbishop of Dublin, and which involved great innovations in the system. He traced the system of national education in Ireland from its establishment in 1831, and showed that originally it was arranged that such religious teaching as might be approved of by the Board should be admitted, and certain works were allowed which it was thought would afford sound religious instruction without giving offence to the Roman Catholics; the reading of them, however, was not enforced on those children whose parents objected to them. In 1839, what was called the 8th rule was established, by which these religious books were forbidden to be read during the time of secular education, and not read if any parents objected; and it was said this meant that the books might be excluded if one parent objected. In the autumn of 1852, the Archbishop of Dublin found these books had never been read in the model school at Clonmel, and others. He complained to the board, differences arose, and a resolution, excluding these books, was come to by a majority of the board, and all combined religious education was abolished in the schools; accordingly, Mr. Blackburne, Baron Greene, and the Archbishop retired from the board. This case demanded imperatively Parliamentary inquiry, which was due to the retiring commissioners and the Protestants of Ireland.

The Earl of ABERDEEN, when first the notice of the noble earl was given, had intended to resist it, because he thought it might throw doubt on the value of that system which had bestowed such inestimable benefits on Ireland; but as the noble earl had entered on his task in no hostile spirit, but the contrary, he had thought it better to agree to the motion; and as there was to be an inquiry, he should enter into a discussion on the question. He expressed his strong regret at the retirement of the Archbishop of Dublin. He stated that on the 31st of December, 1852, the number of schools was 4,952, and on the same date in 1853 the number was 50,750; and the scholars in 1852 amounted to 544,604, while in 1853 they were 565,707; so that the system was flourishing.

The Bishop of Down, the Earl of Clancarty, Lord Dessaert, and Lord Monteagle addressed the House. The motion was agreed to.

## NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Fourth Article by Mr. James Lowe on the Strikes and Lock-out is unavoidably omitted this week.  
"Sunday at Rockbrow."—Not being available, was destroyed.  
W. T. T.—The book has been received.  
"A True Friend of the People's" Letter on the Strikes is in type.

# The Leader.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1854.

## Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD

## THE REFORM BILL.

THESE objections to discussing any Reform Bill at the commencement of a great war have not prevailed with Lord John Russell and his colleagues, and perhaps their obstinacy may in part be accounted for, if not justified, by the consideration that their Bill is not so much a Reform Bill properly so called, as a Bill for the partial improvement of our Parliamentary machinery. We still retain the opinion, that it would have been better not to raise a question which could provoke party conflict at a time when national unanimity is desired; but, as the question has been raised, and Parliament is committed to a discussion of the Bill, the practical question is—what will it do for the country, or for those national objects which we have most at heart?

As to any gross quantity of change, any material departure from the class representation, or any large extension of the suffrage, it would do little. The principal enlargement consists in the extension of the ten-pound borough franchise to counties, and in the enactment of a six-pound franchise in boroughs; the latter, however, accompanied by the restrictive condition of a two-years and-a-half's residence. Several new franchises are created, calculated to give the suffrage to men of education and professional men; to "the élite of the working classes," meaning men who reside long in one place; to men possessing 50*l.* in savings or in stock, or those paying a certain amount in taxes, &c. It has been calculated, perhaps too largely, that the total effect will be to add 500,000 electors to the present million of electors.

Another effect of the measure is, by giving electors in the larger towns and counties one vote less than the number of members, to secure a certain representation of large minorities.

Upon the whole the measure consists of small corrections or improvements. From its scale it is not calculated to interest the great body of the people; from its nicety of arrangement, it is calculated to please literary politicians, moderate men honestly trimming between extremes, and statesmen who regard politics in the way that street jugglers regard dinner-plates, as things less for practical use than for adroit balancing, to win public admiration. Great masses are not moved by fractional measures, and the public, or the people, cannot feel any enthusiasm for the Minister's plan.

There is, indeed, no question of enthusiasm. Lord John himself deprecates it; endeavours to make people feel that his measure is not great, is only a step in advance: in short, "Finality John" would have us understand that there is no such thing as finality, but that we must feel our way by degrees. If this Bill were in competition with one to establish a truly national franchise, if even the Bill of the Parliamentary Reform Association were under consideration, with the view of its being speedily carried, we should not hesitate for an instant in preferring a broad and simple scheme to this elaboration of slight improvements. But there is no question of that kind before the public; and we are induced to ask, whether it would be better for the country that Lord John's Bill should pass, or that it should drop? Now, here we are guided by one fixed principle—we have always been prepared to support any measure that would give the franchise

to a single man who is still without it. We must, therefore, give our vote to Lord John's Bill.

We do not accept it as "an instalment," but we have no apprehension that in securing the gain, such as it is, which the Bill offers, we shall close the path of further improvement. We must frankly confess that the Bill does give us that which we should be glad to have. However timidly and fastidiously, with pedantic dispositions and doctrinal compromises, it will extend the franchise to an increased number of the working classes and of educated classes, generally animated by liberal feelings. In some cases, we have no doubt that the extension of the borough franchise will give the majority of a constituency to the working class, and will thus secure a direct representation of this class. That we consider a positive good in itself. The voice of the working man will be heard by his representative in the House of Commons. But, beyond that, we are convinced that the measure is likely to place in Parliament an increased number of men who are favourable to further extensions; so that instead of being worse off for accepting this small measure, we should be better off if it passed. As to the distinction of Whigs and Tories, whom Parliamentary agents might reckon as likely to lose or gain by the measure, we can only say that we no longer attach the slightest importance to a distinction which scarcely survives anywhere but in the hands of professional Parliamentary agents. The franchise is offered to *more Englishmen*—that is our reason for accepting Lord John's offer.

## THE RUSSIANS AT SEA.

In all encounters it is half the battle to measure correctly the force of your opponent. There can be no sort of moral objection to the belief that any free-born Englishman is more than a match for three Russian serfs, afloat or ashore, but it seems to us advisable, if not as a matter of prudence, at least as a condition of eventual glorification, to disabuse the popular British mind "that sits at home at ease" of the notion that a naval war with Russia is to be a mere *feu de joie*.

Even if the Russians were as they are, not contemptible antagonists at sea, it would be scarcely worth our while to start with that position. For, if it be true that

"A vaincre sans péril on triomphé sans gloire,"

we shall only be tearing the laurels from the brow of the conquerors by the assumption that British popguns would do all the work required of British broadsides in the Baltic.

To prevent misconception, however, and to persuade the more impatient of our readers to accept the following remarks with something like equanimity, let us hasten to declare our unequivocal conviction, which, we hold no doubt, in common with the mass of our countrymen, that if the Russians will but come out with plenty of sea room, they will get such a "categorical explanation," as will content the most insatiable of diplomatic bunglers for many a day. One hour of double-shotted conversation, swift, sharp, and decisive, will do more to obtain a practical solution to the Russian question than all the notes and protocols of all the Conferences of ribands and *cordons*. But the question is—will they come out, and, if not, how to drag them out—these fleets of firewood almost too green to burn? We believe it would be almost as easy to unearthen an old fox with a penny whistle, or to draw a badger from a barrel with a lap-dog (may we be pardoned for the illustration), as to drag by force the line-of-battle ships of the Czar from Cronstadt or Sebastopol, if they decline the hazard of engagement. With regard to operations in the Black Sea, we may as well state at once, without evasion, that it has been officially notified to Government that Sebastopol is unattackable by sea. All the bravado of amateur pugnacity will not convince us that the responsible advice (founded on direct local investigation) of officers of special experience can be safely set aside in deference to the easy temerity of fire-side warriors and club critics. Already we observe with regret the tendency of factions at home to pass hasty and intemperate judgment on the conduct of officers engaged in posts of imminent responsibility on the field of action abroad. It appears to be forgotten by these churlish and carping detractors that the very distinction of supreme command is the difficulty and danger attaching to its exercise where exigencies often the most discordant, and considerations the most conflicting have at all moments, and under every variety of circumstances, to be

reconciled at once with the impulses of honour and the dictates of prudence.

The British and French Admirals were ordered by their respective Governments to assume command of the Black Sea, and to clear it of Russian ships of war; to convoy Turkish troops and ammunition, and to intercept the communications of the Russian arsenals. War being still undeclared by the allies of the Porte against Russia, and the semblance of pacific intent still professed, a British steam-frigate was ordered to convey to the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian naval forces a polite intimation of the approach of the combined fleets with positive instructions to protect the Turkish territory and flag against aggression. Such an intimation, need we say? implied a suggestion to the Russian authorities that a *sorite* from Sebastopol would be considered a challenge, which the allied fleets had no orders to provoke, and no disposition to decline. In short, the message, conveyed with characteristic gallantry and decision by her Majesty's ship *Retribution*, may be briefly interpreted, "Come out if you dare, lie snug if you will." For rather more than three weeks our fleets were scouring the Black Sea, executing with strict fidelity their orders, and ready night and day for all emergencies. At the close of the month the Admirals decided, on consultation, that to remain any longer, at the worst of seasons, dragging we know not how many fathoms of chain out in treacherous holding ground and impossible anchorages, or to persist in clawing off ironbound lee-shores in heavy choppings seas, and dense fogs, with Greeks for pilots, and icy tempests for wear and tear, would be simply to play the game of the enemy, and to let wind and weather do the dirty work of the victors of Sinope. Nothing would satisfy the Russians better than to see our ships crippled, if not wrecked on those inhospitable coasts without firing a shot, so that when the season "opened" and war had been declared, the finest squadrons that ever sailed from Spithead and Toulon, should be repairing damages and refitting in the Turkish docks. It was easy enough for our precious 'representatives' of vacillation and intrigue, after ten months of impotent scribbling, to insult the wise discretion of officers burning for distinction and assured of the sympathy of all Europe in the hour of conflict. It was easy enough for the plenipotentiary quibblers of Pera to disavow brave men, responsible for the safety and efficiency of ships and crews, when, no longer hampered by hesitations, ships and crews should be called upon to avenge the treacheries and timidities of diplomatic triflers. For our own part, we are not afraid to avow that our faith in ambassadors is small indeed, and our faith in admirals not easily disturbed. We have the authority of practical seamen, who have navigated the Black Sea in all weathers, in the depth of cruel winters, to assert that in withdrawing the sailing-ships at this season the admirals acted with common prudence, and that the active cruising of half-a-dozen powerful steamers is an ample security for the Ottomans against all the forces that the Russians are likely to bring out this side of April. If, indeed, the report were confirmed that Russian ships attacked a post in the occupation of the Turks during the absence of our fleets, the blame would fall on the admirals, not for withdrawing the sailing-ships, but for relaxing the surveillance exercised by the steam division of the fleets. There is nothing to prevent, while everything commands, the ceaseless vigilance of our steamers off the coast of the Crimea and of Anatolia. It is, no doubt, a severe and perilous service in these winter months, but we know well that danger is an invitation, and difficulty an opportunity to our sailors. If any mishap had occurred, we should be disposed to attribute it to that pernicious ambiguity of instructions from home which has so often been our worst obstruction in war.

It is to the Baltic, however, to the Gulf of Finland, and to the Gulf of Riga, that we shall have to look for the *dénouement* of the Russian question, and it is in considering the work cut out for the stupendous fleet which will be riding on the Downs next month that we revert to our text. We say, then, that the Russians are likely to prove 'tough customers' at sea. The first question that occurs to us is, will they come out to meet us? Will they not rather follow the suggestion of Marshal Marmont, a warm friend to Russia, who, in 1834, discussing the very

eventualities with which we now have to deal, wrote as follows :—

" If for a sudden and determinate purpose the English sent a fleet into the Baltic, it would be wiser for the Russian squadron, even if it numbered thirty ships of the line, to avoid engaging the English fleet, which would, doubtless, be at least equal in force, and to trust quietly to the season for a certain deliverance ! "

In the Baltic as in the Euxine Russia has the winter for a sure ally. In the Baltic as in the Euxine she has a naval fort and arsenal unattackable by sea. Of Sebastopol this may be affirmed without reservation, and we have yet to learn how Cronstadt is to be got at by an enemy's fleet. We believe it to be the decided opinion of all officers who commanded or served in the Baltic during the last war, that Cronstadt is unattackable. The approach is completely covered by tremendous batteries. There is one, a stone ship battery, commanding the passage, which an eye-witness describes as to be compared "only to a huge granite ship, with three or four tiers of guns, the lower tier as near the water as the lower deck guns of a line-of-battle ship." This battery mounts at least 150 of the heaviest guns. "I saw," writes a friend who visited St. Petersburg in 1850,

"A corvette, used as an exercise ship, sailing close to Peterhoff, on the south coast of the Gulf, four or five miles from Cronstadt. She may have been constructed to draw very little water, but it would be worth while to try whether steamers could turn the position of Cronstadt by this (the Stettin) channel. The skippers of most of the steamers plying between Petersburg and Peterhoff are Englishmen; if they are allowed to quit the country they might give some information. The Gulf of Finland is so shallow, that the channel is marked out by stakes far down below Cronstadt. The Russians imprison any one caught sounding: why should they do so, if nature has precluded any but very small vessels from passing, save through the fair way they have blocked up by the works of Cronstadt? As the water is extremely shallow low down, and yet has channels deep enough for the very largest ships in the world, there may possibly be more than one channel higher up in spite of the depth being next to nothing in places."

This will give our readers some faint idea of the difficulties involved in that popular idea, "taking Cronstadt." Touching the *matériel* of Russian ships of war, and the quality of the crews, we may recall that dictum of Nelson which we cited on a former occasion—"outmanœuvre a Russian." We shall best express the substance of official reports on the subject by describing Russian men-of-war generally as clean and orderly, well manned and with heavy metal. Indeed, the defect of their armament is, the guns are too crowded, so as to cramp the men at quarters. It is the remark of British officers who have met Baltic ships in the Mediterranean, that they take infinite pains in drilling the crews in gunnery and seamanship, and that in a very short time after passing up the Straits they are very smart aloft, and go through all their evolutions effectively.

As a set-off, we may mention that the ships are, for the most part, rather clumsy in construction, and built of green fir, so that we are not surprised to hear of an officer sticking his hand into the seams of the *Aurora*, at Portsmouth the other day, as if they were so much sponge. We fear the Russian ships will make but poor firewood for us next winter.

May we be permitted to say a word about the command of the Baltic fleet? We are glad to hear that so energetic and active an officer as Admiral Chads, to whom we owe many of our best seamen-gunnery in the service, has been appointed to the second command. Sir Charles Napier has been talked of for the command-in-chief; whereupon a chorus of acclamation from 'Marrybone' Radicals, who consider themselves identified with the hero who stormed a ragged army of starving Egyptians on a Jerusalem pony. We do not wish to disparage the gallant services of Sir Charles, and we know all the value of the name of Napier. We should be glad, too, to give the gallant admiral an opportunity of a nobler climax to his career than his last exploit on the coast of Portugal, when the Radical member for 'Marrybone' as the faithful servant of a dynastic policy, arrested with his big ships the transports of the revolutionary Junta of Oporto, and by the terror of his name preserved the throne of *Donna Maria*! But all considerations must bend to the public service. The command of the Baltic fleet requires a combination of the highest qualities. Every British admiral is a Napier in courage, but to that universal characteristic there are men who unite the rarer but scarcely less necessary virtues of order, discretion, dignity, which

command respect and insure discipline, without which the finest fleet that ever swam is powerless. It is popularly supposed that Sir Charles Napier is the idol of the navy. We are not prepared to affirm or deny the fact, but we may be allowed to doubt whether, if the Baltic fleet were polled, to elect the Admiral-in-Chief, the majority of votes would fall on the burlesque subduer of Syria, and the donkey-riding scarer of the Egyptians.

What are the qualities England has a right to expect in the Commander-in-Chief of her Baltic fleet? In the first place, he should be in the active vigour of life, a condition which excludes a large class of 'dear old men' whom the country would gladly see laid up in ordinary, at a comfortable pension, in Pall-mall East. It is cruel to drag from their easy chairs these staunch old gentlemen who ploughed the seas before most of us were dreamed of. Let them be the *Nestors* of the Club. We want a man of sound and active body, vigorous and unclouded mind, ripe in experience, fresh from active service, conversant with steam, familiar with the latest improvements; a man of temper, of moderation, strict in duty, expansive in intercourse, conciliating affection, imposing a cheerful obedience, an example of self-respect to all. Surely there are many such to be found; we have but the embarrassment of selection. We believe we shall be only expressing the feelings of the service if, with no disrespect for others, we cite one name which appears to combine all the essentials we have mentioned. Admiral Fanshawe is not only one of the youngest, but one of the ablest and most active admirals on the list. He commenced his career as a midshipman under Sir Byam Martin in the Baltic, and as a boy knew what a brush with the Russians in the Gulf of Finland meant. He has been constantly afloat: in 1840, on the coast of Syria, as flag-captain to Sir Robert Stopford, he did duty also as captain of the fleet, and proved what could be effected with very poor material by the force of personal character, and the high example of devotedness. It was he who, in command of the squadron off the coast of Africa, completed the destruction of the slave-trade. At Portsmouth, more recently, he has been conspicuous for administrative vigour, and many of our readers, who were afloat on the 11th of August, will remember with what admirable skill and (as landsmen we may say) picturesque effect the 'enemy' were handled on that memorable occasion by Admiral Fanshawe. With some opportunity for forming an opinion, which, however, we present with extreme deference and respect, we believe we shall not incur the charge of unadvised speaking when we venture to express our belief that the appointment of Admiral Fanshawe to the command of the Baltic fleet would be welcomed with satisfaction by the navy, and with confidence by the nation. His flag is already flying at Spithead for the West India station: but it may well be shifted from the *Boscawen* to the *Duke of Wellington* in the Downs.

#### ABOLITION OF THE LAW OF SETTLEMENT.

The hints of objection which were thrown out on Friday night, when Mr. Baines introduced his bill for amending the poor-laws, by abolishing compulsory removal of the poor and extending the area of charge, is an evidence of that obstinacy which resists improvement after "Everybody" has made up his mind that the improvement ought no longer to be delayed. We can scarcely imagine any class which would have the face to avow its real motives, in confessing that proposed amendment is injurious to its own interests. Certainly there is no class in the country which ought to be injured, or to feel itself so, by Mr. Baines's bill.

What is it that it professes to do? We shall better understand that when we understand the nature of the two branches of the present system which it proposes to change. The law of settlement was introduced into this country in the reign of Charles the Second. It is often regarded, and particularly by the poor, who are not paupers, but fear lest they might become so,—as conferring the right of relief in the place of their own home. Now, it does no such thing; it is, indeed, not for the benefit of the poor, but of the parish; and while it really conveys to the poor no right whatsoever, it does lodge in the parish, and does now lodge in the union, a tyrannical power which often sends the poor man from his home, and takes him to some place where he has

neither associations nor friends, nor opportunity of employment. Formerly, as at present, but on more reasonable grounds, each parish which found itself liable for the support of its own poor felt some jealousy at supporting the poor of another parish; and hence the poor person applying for relief was bound to establish his right by birth, by apprenticeship, servitude, or some other proof of actual domiciliation. Within the parish he was considered as a foreigner, and was liable to be taken back to the last place where he could establish some such permanent claim.

There was a time when the labouring man was bound to the very earth upon which he was born; was unable to free himself from that bondage; passed with the estate in the not unfrequent case of its being sold, or in the more frequent case of its being confiscated and given to a new lord; and, in fact, remained, so far, a part of the property. But, on the other hand, in those days, the labourer had a *right* to be thus attached to the soil; the lord who could prevent him from going away, could not remove him; and while the same lord could compel him to work, for the benefit of the master, he could not exclude him also from working for his own. In those ancient days, when transit was difficult, the parish was properly the home of almost every man that first saw the light there. The wanderers and sturdy beggars—outlaws whom barbarous punishment had deprived of their civil rights, the remains of disbanded armies, or persons who joined such lawless bands from mere love of idle life, were unjust invaders of the parish. While the poor man clung fast to the soil, which was his birthright, the parish had a corresponding right to chase away the wanderer that invaded it. From that day, when the labouring man was bound to the soil, and the soil was bound to him, to our own, when the labouring man is free to go where he lists, there has been a gradual change, which has converted the country from one extreme of localization, to the very extreme, not of centralization, but of generalization. Whatever may be the abstract right, it is the fact now, that the labouring man has no special hold upon the soil, or upon any particular place. Fundamentally, he has no claim at all, except the right of relief if he be destitute; and that claim is barred by no topographical limitations. The law of settlement, therefore, can be of no use to the labouring man; its effect upon him is only to drive him back to live where he has not chosen to live.

Its effect upon other classes is very obvious. As settlement gives not the poor man, but some other parishes the right to send a pauper to a particular place for relief, landowners and farmers who wish to keep down their local rates, systematically endeavour to oblige labouring people to keep outside their bounds; and one way in which they effect it is, by preventing the labouring men from residing within the parish. That is the object which has made many landowners take down cottages, and otherwise contrive to prevent the labourer from living upon the estate where he works. No matter if the toil is increased by having to walk four, five, or six miles to the place of labour. No matter either if, being driven into towns, the labouring classes are forced to find out rural-priced lodgings in urban streets, and therefore the cheapest lodgings in crowded towns; in other words, the filthiest streets in those towns. It is a system which herds them in places where residence itself becomes inevitable sickness; and at the same time it burdens those towns with overcrowded neighbourhoods, increased rates, and the charge not only of *more* poor, but of *sick* poor. Thus one parish obtains an unfair relief by tricks which turn a discontented, crowded, expensive, and diseased population upon other parishes. What one parish saves in rates is cast fourfold on another. Take the whole country round, and you find that the paltry saving which can be effected is infinitely more than counterbalanced by the wasteful and vicious means to effect it.

On the other hand, while the whole system of trade and manufactures tends to make it desirable that there should be the freest play in the movement of the industrial class, it also becomes the interest of those industrious classes to be free in their movements. No longer possessing a hold upon the soil—we are not now relating what ought to be, but what is the fact—the labouring man's sole reliance is either upon the right of relief for destitution, which he enjoys everywhere in this country, or upon the best employment which he can find, in choosing out of a wide space of country. The law of settlement, which disturbs the distribution of industry for the employer,

also fetters the labouring man in his choice, both of a residence and a place of work. It is, therefore, one means of keeping down wages by preventing the perfectly free movements of the industrious class in seeking wages where they are highest. Thus, whereas in some special cases the law creates a saving, it does so at the cost of an unjust and greatly disproportionate burden to some districts, and of actual privation to the poor. These conclusions are admitted by all who have investigated the subject.

With regard to rating there can scarcely be two opinions. Mr. Disraeli, and other speculative politicians, have thought it would be more advantageous to the agricultural interest, and to the labouring man, if the rates over the whole country were equalized, and if for that purpose the charges were cast upon the Consolidated Fund. We have not yet seen any satisfactory suggestion for providing a check upon the lavish expenditure which the local relieving officers would be sure to indulge, if they could lay a charge, not upon the guardians representing the rate-payers in their own place, but upon that vast and magnificent abstraction—the country. There are reasons against this suggestion which it is not necessary to recite, because there is no probability that the plan will be carried out. On the other hand, those who insist that the parish should provide for its own poor, and look after its own interest, forget how totally the face of the country has altered since the term parish meant something distinct. In many cases you cannot now understand what a parish is. Some towns will overlap many a parish. Some parishes are separated into little pieces, like the county of Cromarty, with spaces intervening; a small inconvenience when the ecclesiastical authority of the Church was distinct, and the lands intervening were houseless fields. Since those days the population is no longer in little clusters around the parish church, but is distributed in much greater masses. The object of present legislation, therefore, is, while not charging the relief of the poor upon the State, which could keep no check upon the local administration, to find such partition of the country as should include some variety of district, while it would present a recognizable form of division. The union is such a division; with the additional advantage, that it is already associated with the administration of the poor-law, and has its machinery not only for administrative purposes, but also for representations. To extend the rating to the union, is only to put rating in harmony with the local administration and representation. On that point also, there can scarcely be two opinions, and Mr. Baines, if he had been less a man of the world, might have expected to hear not a whisper of objection, but only one murmur of unqualified assent.

But there are objections, and for obvious reasons. Mr. Knight said that the proposed amendment of the law would cause much property to change hands. We scarcely know what he means, unless it be this, that many landlords being on the verge of insolvency, and their farmers not much better off, but devoting keen attention to the work of preventing an increase in the rates by driving the poor off their lands, the prospect of abolishing the law by which they accomplish that trick frightens them. They now confess that the idea of having to pay a few shilling more for their own paupers, would cause them to sell their lands in a panic!

There is, therefore, a spendthrift, mean, and tricky interest arrayed against the amendment; and there is another interest still more important, as opposing the free progress of the measure.

The law of removal causes an enormous amount of travelling expenses and of litigation between parish and parish. Now there are persons who are paid for conveying paupers, and there are lawyers who profit by the litigation. To let the reader complete the chain, let us observe that active parish officers who turn an honest penny by conveying paupers, active local lawyers who draw to themselves a good share of parish litigation, are the same lawyers and active parish busy-bodies who execute a great part of Parliamentary election business, and who do not let honourable Members forget past favours. We believe that this is the most formidable lion in Mr. Baines's path. We only trust that he will have sufficient chivalry to call out the good sense and the right feeling of Parliament, and so gather a following at his back which may embolden him to face that lion—in short, that he may induce the British lion to come out and eat up that local lion.

#### TREATMENT OF THE ARMY.

SIR CHARLES SHAW is again insisting, through the press, upon a suggestion which he made a year or two back for supplying the men with "sack tents," an article which, borne by each sixth man, forms a useful bag for carrying many conveniences, and subsequently, a shelter against heat, rain, or night dews. But there are other improvements in the army, perhaps less obviously required, yet far more desirable for encouraging the proper spirit amongst the men. It is a subject of regret to those who witness the departure of the Guards on their way to Constantinople, to think that they should again be setting out for the commencement of a war which may last for years, before many obvious and generally accepted improvements had been made for their comfort. It is a disgrace to the country that the men who fight her battles, protect our homes, enlarge our empire, and sustain the power of Great Britain, should be compelled by a mean system to witness with discouragement the superior care bestowed upon the comfort and well-being of prize felons and reformatory fondlings. It may be all very well to preach to a community of hucksters and an age of cotton, the emptiness of glory and the insolvency of heroism; but we have not yet made up our minds to relinquish the use of soldiers; and while we actually consume their flesh and blood, and their strength, it is inconsistent to act upon the parsimonious doctrines which could only be reconciled to a purely unwarlike policy.

Low wages do not pay in any trade, but least of all in the soldier's. An army is composed of individuals; it will be weak and craven in proportion as the individuals are weak and craven; and it is notorious that an under-fed man is weak, and, if not craven, what is worse, indifferent and discontented. Stint the food and pay of the soldier, and you not only stint his spirit physiologically, but you give him a right to treat you with the slight which you show to him.

Something, we have said, has no doubt been done. The education of the soldier has been improved: he has the opportunity, at least, and he often uses it, of learning to read and write. In some cases he has access to a regimental library. His barrack life has been somewhat humanised; and some of the worst indecencies, that added insult to discomfort, have been remedied. But far too much remains to be done. The bed of the soldier is too like that of the pauper or prisoner—inferior, indeed, to the bedding in some prisons. Although the worst indecencies have been corrected, especially in a better disposal of married people where that is possible, still the barrack remains a school in which the student of good behaviour must be dreadfully disheartened. Employment is provided for the soldier, even almost to a vexatious extent, especially where that pest of the navy and army haunts barrack or ship—the Martinet. It cannot be denied that the exigencies of discipline require some degree of control over the cursory reading of those who are, at the best, an indifferently educated body. But, still, the soldier is treated too much as an unthinking machine, who has no requirements of ease, of recreation, or of employment for his mind in the intervals of set occupation. The sergeant who tells the man that he should always be clean and smart, and "walk the street as if it were his own," is by no means enabled to supply that man with the raw material of so much spirit and dignity.

Even as regards restraint upon the reading of the men, we believe it is carried to too great a length. Officers who combine active attention to those under their charge, and strict discipline with an indulgent disposition, have no doubt had opportunities of observing that the soldier who is trusted may be trusted: and a review of the books most demanded in the library will show that the spontaneous taste of most soldiers inclines them to a class of reading which is far from being either theoretical or unorthodox. A freer public opinion thus fostered is enough to keep down Somervilleism, without those severe restraints that are irksome to the thinking soldier, and keep the unthinking perpetually in a go-cart. By such adult childishness is it that the soldier, out of bounds, becomes the victim of the squallid syrens that haunt barrack towns, or the plaxting of the pushing publican who thinks only of the profit of his liquor. Many a soldier who had been taught to think like a man, would have walked home steadily to his barrack at a proper hour, instead of staggering up too late, only to be put in the black-hole.

We have never ceased to protest against the principle of a standing army, as being opposed both to constitutional liberties and to the military spirit of a people. A standing army is a modern innovation in our country; it was wholly unknown to our constitution in the time when leading Englishmen, of the landed gentry as well as of the middle classes, were best able, by constant devotedness and active courage, to defend the institutions of their country. It is an importation from the continent—an institution copied from military adventurers in times when Europe has been distracted by dynastic wars. It is a curious result of the unreasoning position into which that which is absurdly called the Economical school has fallen—that while its members object to the scale of our military expenditure, they also object to any interference with the institution of a standing army. Situated as England is, she requires for her defence a large body of armed men, and if the people at large be not—as in all free countries it should be—its own army, there must be that force of separate soldiery which occasions so large an expenditure, and is so ready a handle for arbitrary Governments. Nay, a standing army may be made that which the middle class economists most profess to dread—the preserve of aristocratic patronage; and such those who object to the army of the people declare our present army to be. They would eat their cake and have it too. They will not have military exercises for the people, lest they should be taken away from their labour, and profit suffer; and yet they complain of a standing army. They complain; but when the occasion offers they are ready enough to invite the aid of the standing army against the people. Tell one of those middle-class "liberals" that "A mob is coming," and he instantly calls out in a panic for "The military"—for that military whose pay he grudges and whom he would starve.

But while we object far more sincerely than any of those half economists to a standing army, we must refuse to share their clap-trap assertions against the actual state of our army. It is pretended that there is wastefulness in providing for the army; and yet it is discovered, on the very eve of a war, that the British soldier is kept short of a sufficient supply of food; at the same time that he is obliged to pay for his own keep! The Secretary at War has just announced to Parliament that the "stoppage" of the British soldier will not be increased in proportion to the market price of provisions—in other words, the nation will feed its soldiers, cost what it may; and will not persevere in the ruinous economy of saving its cash at the expense of its armed strength. But when the proposal was made to give up the extravagant stoppage which is exacted from the private soldier, a representative economist of this anti-military school sent a letter to the *Times*, complaining that for every halfpenny allowed to the private soldiers, the country would have to pay 40,000*l.* a year; a statement which is enforced as involving a self-evident proposition that the soldier must go without his halfpenny, and the nation keep its 40,000*l.*

The same bigoted blindness to things as they are, gives rise to the complaint of our enlightened traders, that the officers are all men of aristocratic birth, who are over paid. We are as little inclined to the system of purchase, as we are to that of a standing army. It is, we conceive, a bad plan, that officers should be selected by their purchasing capacities, instead of their fighting or scientific qualities. It is a bad plan that the officers should become a species of fundholders, investing money in the national funds under the name of "purchase," and drawing dividends called "pay," with the condition annexed of active service. We do not know any system of military organization theoretically more ludicrous. At the same time, it must be admitted that the pay afforded to the officer is scarcely so much as a full interest upon his money sunk—is indeed far less than the profits which some of those economists expect for their own capital. Tested by comparison with other public employments, the British officer has indeed strong grounds to complain. If the Manchester dogmatists and Marylebone demagogues are in search of high pay and aristocratic connexions, they may find both in some of those departments for which a reform is promised. There are, for example, Somerset-house commissioners, whose chief duties during the day are to read the papers, interrupted occasionally by the laborious work of administering an oath, and hearing a formal declaration; and who for such a service have an amount of pay

which would cover the allowance of two General officers in the field.

There is, we believe, one reason why both officers and men do not attain their rights—why they lie under the misrepresentation and invidious attacks of these Tribunes of the Till. It is that they permit themselves—and the fault evidently lies more with the officers than with the men—to carry out the purpose of Horse Guard officials in separating them from the body of the people. The frequent assertion that the military spirit has by no means died out in the English people, and that a direct appeal to their more generous sympathies in favour of the soldier would be met by a hearty response, is now amply confirmed by our daily experience. There is no doubt that the people would be quite willing to do justice to the soldier—to give to the private soldier comforts equal to those which his own class can realize in occupations perhaps more irksome, but certainly less riskful; and to render to officers not a paltry allowance on money invested, but a generous remuneration for the duties performed.

A better time however is coming both for people and army. Both will be wanted by the Government of the country, both will enjoy the opportunity of being appreciated. We do not mean that the time will enable them to obtain all they want by pressure upon the necessities upon the Government; we have no sympathy with the base and cowardly cry of O'Connell, "England's danger is Ireland's opportunity;" nor should we hesitate in scouting any attempt to use the necessities of the country as a means of extorting conditions from Government. But occasion for common exertions, and for the display of a common spirit, cannot fail to increase the respect of the governors for the governed, of the people for its military defenders and representatives on the field of battle. On such occasions the Government will accept the support of the people, with a far more generous desire to reciprocate that support by a more ample trust; and an earnest of that is given even in the obstinacy with which Lord John Russell insists upon throwing a reform before Parliament in time of war. The necessity of the time will require an extension of the militia; it is probable that all classes may once more be called upon to take their share in military duties; with the responsibility of such service, the spirit that sustains responsibility will revive; and a just appreciation of the soldier will incline the civilian to increase his reward.

We have noted with pride that the vanguard of the British troops now hastening to the scene of war is, as it should be, that privileged brigade of Guards, whose peculiar distinction of home service exposes them to the vulgar and ignorant detraction of orators, who are apt to talk of the household troops of the British Crown as if they were the janissaries of despotism, instead of the flower of the organised and disciplined national defence, first in rank at home, and foremost in action abroad. Those who witnessed the march of the Guards, last Tuesday, down the Strand, amidst the enthusiastic farewells of a population still, we rejoice to find, alive to the susceptibilities of patriotic emotion, will be loath to deny the essential unity of the army and the people. There are some who believe that the British troops will encounter no sterner service in the opening campaign than the strange and holiday romance of a summer camp on the shores of the Sea of Marmara. For ourselves, we find it difficult to believe that our soldiers can be advanced on the theatre of events so momentous without adding another blazon to their glorious standards. It will be a heartstirring emulation—that brotherhood in arms of the inheritors of the meteor columns of Napoleon and the unbroken squares of Wellington. May they never march again but side by side! Certain we are that wherever British and French troops take ground, they will leave the traces of their footsteps as indelible as the traditions which are the virtue and the soul of armies.

#### THE NEW REFORM BILL.

[The following appreciation of the new Reform Bill may be regarded as an exposition of pure Radicalism. As such, under the guarantee of an esteemed signature, we are glad to present the opinions of our correspondent, in reference to our principle of sincere and free discussion. Our readers will have no difficulty in discerning the points of difference in the opinions of the "LEADER" and of "Non-Elector."]

In approaching the consideration of the Reform measure, read a first time in the House of Commons on Monday night, it is desirable that we should observe

what is our actual position as a people possessing "representative institutions."

This is the second Electoral Reform measure in English history. The first act was called for by the disappearance of certain small towns, the growth of certain great towns, and the shifting of population; in short, by the transition of England from being an agricultural country, manufacturing only for the home market, to being a commercial country, manufacturing for the whole world. The new measure is, we will not say demanded, but proffered on the same grounds: that during the twenty years which have elapsed since the act of 1832, further shiftings of population have taken place, and a consequent necessity has arisen to distribute anew the seats of the House of Commons. In neither instance do the statesmen originating these measures contemplate giving the suffrage to the people as a right. They give the suffrage to places; and they select places, and distribute seats, with reference to producing in the House of Commons a representation of classes, and ~~of~~ classes only. Accordingly, when the Reform Act was passed, several millions of men were left without the pale of the constitution; and this new Reform Bill only proposes an extension of the suffrage which would add some half million to the existing million of voters: England being a nation of some 30,000,000! Lord John Russell's new theory of the Representation of Minorities has been much ridiculed. In point of fact, it is the minority which has always been represented in the English House of Commons—the majority never.

The new Reform Bill, then, proposes merely a new symmetrisation of seats. The new Reform Bill has no reference to the increase of population: England, in 1854, is to have no more *members* in the "People's House," than England had in 1854, when the population of all England was just about what the population of London is now. An increase of representatives, because of an increase in the number to be represented, is not proposed, because our statesmen have never yet realised the idea of the citizen, as a *man*, being entitled to a voice in the government of the State.

Thus our Reform Bills have no reference to principles. They are the schemes of parties to keep up representative appearances. The system of 1822, we were told in 1832, "worked well." The system of 1844, we shall be told in 1854, "worked well." What will work well, not what is right, is, consequently, the aim of our statesmen in electoral arrangement. And thus a Reform Bill is no sign of popular enlightenment or of national advance. England does not become more free because a Reform Bill is passed to extend the franchise. The fact is, indeed, just the reverse. Proportionately to population, fewer Englishmen now vote for members of Parliament than voted for members of Parliament four centuries ago. Doubtless the popular privileges of free speech, and free press, enable the popular voice to be heard and obeyed—in the end. And it may be that, as unformed Parliaments pass Reform Bills, and senates of landlords remove taxes on food and industry, our system of representation does "work well"—in the end. But that country cannot boast of the dignity of freedom which is subjected to an electoral system permitting oligarchical administration; and that is not self-government, which, by agitation, has to threaten civil war before it gains political concession.

It is, therefore, with a sorrowful protest at the narrowness and untruthfulness of the English conception of representative institutions, that we enter upon the consideration of Lord John Russell's second attempt to harmonise the House of Commons with the nation. It is, therefore, that we can only look at the Bill from the national point of view, and inquire—would this Bill work well in obtaining a fair representation of classes? It is, therefore, that, if we oppose the Bill, we are entitled to oppose it, not because it does not extend the franchise, as a right, far enough, but the franchise, as a scheme for balancing classes, far enough—or too far.

The Reform Bill of 1830 was the concession of the Whigs to the ambition of the middle class. The growth of the middle class, with the growth of the commercial and manufacturing systems, was the uprising of a money power too great to permit of a continuance of the complete preponderance of the landed aristocracy. The Whigs, wise in their generation, and happening to be out of office, caught at a policy from the political theories awakened in the world by the American and French revolutions, and rose to power on the cry of reform. The Whigs played the game of the middle class: in England by conciliating Dissenters, in Ireland by conciliating Catholics, and in the empire at large by caressing that religious middle class feeling, which was expressed in agitations for the emancipation of negroes, for education, for the organization of the poor, &c. The Reform Act opened the House of Commons to the middle class: and, thenceforward, the aristocracy, while being permitted to administer the country how they pleased, and with complete possession of imperial patronage, were compelled to govern in a middle class spirit. The House of Commons, under the influence of the commercial system of England, and

under the influence of those great changes in physical science which brought the ends of the earth together,—which created "private business,"—ceased to be an assembly of senators and orators, and became an assembly of committees, and "men of business." Hence the Pitt style of Premier was supplanted by the Peel style of Premier; and the great debaters, instead of being laughing Sheridans, became lofty and earnest Gladstones—men all reason and religion. But the Whigs, not producing a great man, to comprehend the great opportunities they had created, broke down; and it is significant that they broke down and lost power, not because they were not philosophical statesmen and doctrinaire administrators, but because they were not financiers.

The Tories, winning the counties by the Chandas clause, regaining ground in the boroughs by rigid registration, and profiting by the reaction which is always disastrous to conquerors, seized power in 1841. They said it was because the country was returning to allegiance to Church and State. But it was only because there was a deficit in the revenue, and because the middle class believed that that idol of the middle class, Sir Robert Peel, could create a surplus. Sir Robert Peel, with all the country gentlemen of England at his back, and with a devoted House of Lords, led, on his side, by the historic Wellington, had the sagacity to detect the facts of the day, and was forced into the most absolute middle-class policy. He revolutionised the system of finance: he repealed the corn-laws. The country gentlemen and the House of Lords took him from place in 1846; this is 1854, and every Budget since 1846 has contained a concession to the "Financial Reform Associations" organised by the middle class. In 1853, Mr. Gladstone, who succeeds to Sir Robert Peel, his place and his power, in the estimation of the middle classes, passed a Succession Duty Extension bill, which levelled real and personal property; and in 1854 the Earl of Aberdeen is risking an impeachment for not entering on war, because it is his conviction the commercial middle class cries "Peace."

Thus the Reform Act of 1832, destroying a House of Commons which directly represented only the landed interest, recreated a House of Commons, which, whatever it directly represents, has voted a middle-class policy. The Reform Bill of 1854 is demanded (or proffered), not because the existing House of Commons does not fulfil the average notions of fair class-representation, but because there is unsymmetrisation in the electoral arrangements, and considerable corruption or intimidation, partly because of those arrangements. Or if there is any idea that there is not a fair class representation, that idea has reference to the absence of the artisan element in the selected voters in towns. We have therefore, to see whether the new propositions would retain the existing distribution of class representation, or, whether the artisan element would be introduced with any practical influence. That the skilled artisan class is not very active on the electoral question, seems to us to be a fact beyond questioning. But another fact beyond questioning is, that the growth of an intelligent, thinking, artisan class, has been as conspicuous between 1832 and 1854 as the growth of an intelligent and wealthy trading class was conspicuous between the birth of Arkwright and the death of Huskisson. Consequently a proper Reform Bill—proper in the English sense,—would specially aim at the enfranchisement of the artisan class, and the introduction of artisan members of Parliament.

The Bill has been well described, privately, as a Coalition Bill, into which each member of the Government has pitched his own crotchet,—there being just a schedule, or a clause, to each Minister. But there are three striking main points in the Bill. These are, Schedule A, disfranchising rotten or nominee, boroughs; the new 10*l.* occupation franchise for counties; and the new 6*l.* occupation franchise for boroughs. The first would weaken by 22 members the landed interest. The second would increase incalculably the power of the middle class. The last, so long as the condition of thirty months' residence is connected with it, would leave the working-class franchise just where it is. And just as these points are appreciated is the comment of the class communities on the Bill. The landed interest would vote naturally against a proposition which directly and indirectly would diminish their hold of boroughs and counties; and the landed interest is, therefore, angry and vicious. The middle classes are delighted. The working classes have not yet spoken; but of their probable opinions, as of the actual ascertained opinions of the middle class, we may judge by the newspapers. In fact, however, on these questions the provincial press is the best guide of public opinion, for they apply clauses to their own local circumstances, and they live among their readers.

We cannot be supposed to regret the diminution of the power of the landed aristocracy. But, in the democratic interest, we should regret to see electoral changes accomplished which would only substitute for the too conservative power of the land the too selfish power of the "money interest." So far

the power of the middle class has been productive of benefits to the country: for the middle class had points to gain which they could not gain without the aid of popular power or clamour. But the middle class has nearly gained all that it wants; and when a class has conquered it becomes conservative. We see, on the labour question and on questions of foreign policy, that the middle class, like any other class, becomes short-sighted in the intensity of selfishness; and that an exclusively middle-class Government might become a dangerous Government. We do not desire to see the influence of aristocracy, which is a numerous and intelligent class, destroyed; and we do not wish to see the influence of the town tradesmen, or mere merchant class, paramount. At least, if class representation is our object, let us keep the scheme well balanced. To give more votes to the trading class, because it is more numerous than the land-owning class, would justify the argument in favour of household suffrage, because the working class, on that principle, is entitled to the possession of more members in the House than either of the upper classes. On these grounds we doubt the fairness of the new Reform Bill.

With regard to the various small points in the Bill, which have been termed crotches, we attach very little importance to any of them; and have no opinion for or against them. Certainly, if we were to look upon the "representation of minorities" point as a theory, and not as a plan, which will work irrespective of the theory, and the practical benefit of which will be simply to give to certain places three members in lieu of two members, we should lay great stress upon the proposition. Obviously it is unconstitutional: for the constitution provides, not that the Commons shall include checks against its own too popular action, but that the House of Lords, which is always the representation of the minority, shall act as a check on the House of Commons. But a dissertation of this kind would be waste of time: the proposition is simply silly—philosophically false—practically futile. When it is well ventilated, every member of the Cabinet will be as heartily ashamed of it as Mr. Walpole was of the militia franchise. Generally speaking, the new franchises are militia franchises. They are, as a whole, an error, because they are complex and confused. Simplicity is the great characteristic of all great plans—and it may be added, of all honest ones.

In conclusion, we would suggest to Liberals, that they are always in too great a hurry in politics. We hear now, as we heard in 1830, the cry—"Let us take what we can get: let us accept this, and with a House of Commons elected under such a Bill, we shall readily get all the rest!" This is serious folly. In this country, "change" is, after all, not popular; all great changes are regarded as settlements; and after every great change there is a great reaction, because there is great desire for repose. The Liberals, who yelled in 1830 at Orator Hunt, because he warned the democracy not to believe that an aristocracy could propose a democratic Bill, were all wringing their hands over their blunder in 1837, and by 1840 had signed the People's Charter, and in 1849 were still attempting in vain mild "Reform Associations." So, if we pass this new Bill we shall hear cries against annual revolutions, and shall hear of no further Reform for another 20 years:—People's charters and mild Reform Associations notwithstanding. And we should also be cautious not to rush at this Bill merely because it extends the suffrage. The logic of Liberals, who are for an unconditional extension of the suffrage, even in the wrong directions, is not new. It was Mr. Hume's logic, when he cheered the Chaddos clause: the Chaddos clause which has made English county representation an affair of two or three dozen families, and has filled the House of Commons with young lords and old warming-pans. The votes of county members carried the Bill of 1832: the votes of county members will probably throw out the Bill of 1854.

NON-ELECTOR.

#### A "STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

THE present session was looked forward to, through a not well-informed recess, as promising two sets of excitements: debates on Foreign Policy and debates on Reform. Last night concluded the third week of the session; and last night were concluded the two excitements. Next week, and up to the 13th March, estimates, nothing but estimates, and rather high estimates. The country will have its Parliamentary amusements. But the country must pay.

Mr. Layard took a perfectly constitutional position in rising, on the motion that the House should go into Committee to grant navy estimates, to ask—what is the money for, and what is to be done with the money? Observe, however, that the Ministers had fixed last night for their estimates, and their increased estimates, without having gratified Parlia-

ment with the slightest information. Observe, further, that Mr. Layard sat down as wise as when he had risen: and that the House of Commons will get out of its bed this morning as profoundly puzzled as ever on our foreign policy. We are a wonderfully self-governed country.

For several hours last night the Commons waited, principally in the smoking-room, to see if the Treasury bench would gratify the nation with any news of what the nation was to be made to do. At twelve Lord John rose and said "Sir," and spoke to this effect: "My hon. friend seeks to know what are the intentions of the Government. Sir, I will state them. Sir, I despair of peace being preserved. Sir, under those circumstances what is our duty? (Cheers.) Sir, to enter on war. (Cheers.) Sir, we shall enter on war. (Cheers.) Sir, the estimates this year will exceed the estimates of last year—that is what we shall confess at once—3,000,000. (Sensation: Mr. Cobden pale.) Sir, the condition of success in war is secrecy, and it would be improper to say what we shall do in war. (Cheers from the Treasury bench.) Sir, if the House will not support us, let it vote a vote of want of confidence. But if the House will support us, give us your confidence. (Cheers.) And God defend the right, and I will take my share of the responsibility." (Loud cheers.)

It was a magnificent speech—from the national, as distinguished from the rational point of view. Of course, it told no more than the House knew already. But it was a speech of fire and force; it was lofty, daring, and hearty; it was warlike, which the House wanted; and it sent the cheers up, and will scatter the Funds down. My "summary" of it is perfectly accurate, and yet it will make Lord John more popular than ever.

It was a surprising debate last night. A hot, excited House collected at five, wailed over a variety of bores till seven, and delayed dinner till eight, to hear Mr. Layard. Mr. Layard was a success; and this was, properly speaking, his maiden speech. He hasn't the knack of the House; he isn't oratorical at all; and he isn't conversational; and he isn't elocutionary; his style is bad. But he had a great subject, was greatly up on it, was excessively malicious, and he spoke with the rapid energy of a full brain and a vindictive heart. He divided his subject into the past and the future. On the past he dwelt long enough to make a clever case, catching cheers at each point, accumulating applause as he went, till the House was "with him"—carried away with him. Then he paused. He would forgive the past. But what was to be the future? Was Russia to be let off, as Louis Napoleon proposed, for Self and Victoria, if she would merely vacate the Principalities? Was peace to be permitted to Russia as soon as she was driven from the Principalities? Was there then to be a renewal of all the old treatises; in short, the *status quo ante bellum*? That England would never consent to. (Cheers from Mr. Murgough and that class of member.) No, England would demand permanent guarantees; and meanwhile England sought to know—what the deuce the Government was about? (Loud cheers.) Sir, said Sir James Graham, who was put up to reply, this is preposterous. This is a motion which ends with nothing; it is against precedent, at a great crisis, to attack a Government that you say has behaved badly, and that you don't trust, by a side wind; and I, really, appeal to the House whether we ought to waste time by such a discussion at such a moment? If you have no confidence in us, turn us out; but meanwhile (and here the crafty countenance of Sir James Graham indicated that he knew he was safe) don't let us "potter" over Blue Books (wait until you get the facts, said Government, last session), but let us go into Committee like sensible men, and vote the supplies. This was adroit impudence, worthy of Sir James's fame as a manager of the House, and his general defence of the English share in the negotiations was equally characteristic. Yes, he admitted Nicholas had deceived him and his colleagues; but then, "a generous mind is slow to suspect,"—the aphorism being from Sir James's youthful copy-book. And the adroitness answered its purpose, the effrontery appeared to strangle the debate—the House emptied, and

for two hours was left in the hands, to the mouths of Lord Jocelyn and Lord Dudley Stuart:—the first showing his debating power by roaring an inopportune attack on Manchester; and the second showing in two ways his logic, by drawling for an hour his general notions on the general question, having, at the outset, mentioned that in consequence of only having just returned from Constantinople, and not having had time to read the blue-book, he was not competent to express an opinion on the negotiations—Constantinople having been the centre of them! But when Lord Dudley had been "questioned" into resuming his seat, the divided House having re-collected, and got beyond bores, Mr. Roebuck rose, and though several other eminent men rose at the same moment, the cry was for "Roebuck,"—this welcome back again to debate of a real debater being creditable to the House. He was feeble and somewhat incoherent; but his feebleness had made him temperate, good-natured and sagacious, and his clear common sense caught at the point of the day, and re-presented the debate debateably. In a word, he repeated Mr. Layard's question; thus recalling the House to sagacity and self-respect; and what Sir James Graham had pooh-poohed, Lord John saw, in an instant, this "generous and wise speech" of his ancient but honoured antagonist would prevent being further pooh-poohed. The House roared applause; and re-settled itself sternly to get—information.

The Lords were sufficiently ludicrous in their debate on Tuesday. Half a dozen Peers—who read French journals, who have dined in foreign capitals with ambassadors, who hear good *on dite* in and about good clubs, who keep French cooks, or French mistresses, and who have a consequent taste for talking what they think the correct diplomatic jargon, and who had turned over the Blue Book on the Eastern question while nibbling their French rolls that morning—rose, one after another,—the Peers who can't talk, perfectly grave till dinner, and perfectly asleep after it,—to complain, to criticise, to inquire, to ramble, and to rhodomontade on our "foreign policy,"—from first to last, in all the speeches, each and all frankly confessing that they didn't know, and in the nature of things couldn't know, and wouldn't be so presumptuous as to attempt to know, what they were talking about. The House full: the Ministers solemn. The side galleries full of House of Commons' personages, curious, or of Peerses in *esse* wondering, or of Peerses in *pose* worshipping. The strangers' galleries awe-struck. The reporters' gallery steaming with struggling stenographers. It was a great night; a great debate! Observe what happened. Three of the half-dozen Peers had talked; and a Minister intervened. This was Lord Clarendon. The Foreign Secretary felt called upon to answer, definitively, the hysterical entreaties of the three oratorical Peers to be instructed on our foreign policy. Lord Clarendon did not, therefore, hesitate to conclude an hour's talking by saying, "No, my Lords, I am bound to say,—under the circumstances it would be improper secrecy not to inform you,—that this country is not at peace with Russia!" It was an important statement: the Peers who can't talk whispered: the ladies felt faint: the strangers heaved a relieved sigh: the stenographers took the words in a variety of different systems of short-hand—to make sure. Observe further: the solemnity of the scene continuing. The other half of the half-dozen oratorical Peers followed Lord Clarendon: they were commenting with laboured and excited emphasis upon the ministerial declaration. Then rose the second Minister, it was at midnight, it was the Premier, and he was received with the awe inspired at such an hour by an august ghost. Lord Aberdeen was astonished that their lordships had not regarded his noble colleague's most explicit speech as satisfactory and sufficiently informing. Their lordships did not, apparently, believe that a minister stated everything about our relations with a foreign power, when he stated that we were not at peace with that power. Well (here the illustrious and brilliant assembly hung upon the lips of the brusque Scotch old gentlemen) he would complete that statement, and he did not hesitate to say, under the circumstances, it was only proper to inform

their lordships that we were not at war with the Power in question. Sensation! House broke up; Peers paired off with Peccresses; strangers went home with the sublimest respect for our representative institutions: the stenographers thanked God that it was over; Palace-yard and Parliament-street were alive, in the dark night, with the rush northward of countless harnessed meteors; and all England next day was reading, with respectful weariness, black pages of newspapers distorting the debate;—all because six Peers, who could not possibly know anything of the subject, had mentioned, at some length, that circumstance; and because two Ministers had declared the state of our foreign relations—the Foreign Secretary having stated that we were not at peace with Russia, and the Premier having stated that we were not at war with Russia. The funds, in consequence, rushing up as soon as the brokers came to Lord Clarendon's speech; and the funds in consequence running down when the brokers came to Lord Aberdeen's speech. Brokers *en masse* at about 12 confessing that, hang them, if they knew what we were at; and, accordingly, telegraphing to their foreign correspondents that the last rumour was that the Coalition Cabinet took the foreign policy turn about, each Minister having an hour at it in succession, and that therefore there could be no safe speculation until it could be ascertained how the list of names stood.

And there would be no debates on foreign policy at all, but that this list of names cannot be made long enough to include everybody. It is not the Opposition which teased Aberdeen on Tuesday, and annoyed Sir James Graham last night by stopping the supplies for an hour or two. The question of foreign policy has been opened by those excellent Liberal-Conservatives and Conservative-Liberals who have been left out of the coalition. But that Mr. Layard this time last year found that it was more difficult to get into Downing-street than into Nineveh, and that Lord Aberdeen was less manageable than a winged bull, we should have had no debate last night: and on Tuesday, in the Upper House, the only speeches that were marked by any damaging power to the Cabinet were delivered by noblemen who happen, to their surprise and disgust, to be left out of it. Now this is not attributing bad motives; it is only alluding to the natural tendency of men, even of noblemen, to find fault with that for which they are not responsible. It is position, and not principle, which dictates the policy alike of parties and of persons. Whatever one set of great Lords, sitting complacently on one side of a senate, may happen to do, is sure to be condemned by the other set of great Lords sitting gloomily on the other side of the senate: and it is to this happy provision of Providence in its arrangements for human nature that we are indebted to that glorious privilege of this free and happy country—government by party. Why do Lords Derby and Malmesbury and Mr. Disraeli think the conduct of Lord Clarendon imbecile, and the conduct of Lord Aberdeen infamous? Because they are in opposition; they would oppose just the same whatever Lord Clarendon might have chanced to suggest, and whatever Lord Aberdeen might have chanced to resolve. In the same way Mr. Layard, sitting below the gangway, and quite satisfied that an inferior capacity was preferred for the Under-Secretaryship of State in the present Government, shakes his head, and "fears" that his noble and right honourable "friends" have, perhaps, on the whole—and he is merely throwing out the hint, with the best intentions, he wishes it to be understood—have, perhaps, on the whole, and speaking, of course, generally, made the most infernal mess in this business that he ever heard of. Lord Grey, again, assured the Peers over and over again on Tuesday that he was quite aware his motives might be misconceived; but that he was too frank a man, and too conscientious a man—he insisted upon this—to withhold his opinion from his country; and his opinion was,—while he admitted the pure patriotism, commanding ability, and unparalleled honour of his noble friends,—that of all the stupid, slow, imbecile, ludicrous, not to say rascally, Ministries which had ever disgraced a country, why, perhaps, to speak with extreme and conscientious accuracy, this English Ministry might be pronounced

the most stupid, slow, imbecile, and ludicrous, not to say rascally. Now, Lord Grey believes that he is a very scrupulously honourable man, and no doubt he is; and very likely he is perfectly correct in his view that the Ministry blundered in attempting to vindicate the integrity of a country which cannot be kept from spontaneous combustion. But it is impossible not to have a suspicion that the country would forgive Lord Grey, even if, at what is understood to be this "crisis," he withheld his candid opinion: and that that opinion would have been very different, but that the Peelites handed over our colonial policy to a dashing Duke of Newcastle, and a *dilettante* Sir Wm. Molesworth—two men peculiarly obnoxious to Henry, Earl Grey—and but that the Whigs were so mean as to sacrifice a man who had suffered for them, and who was the son of the man who had given them much of their modern popularity, and to whom, they very well knew, office, for its emoluments, was an object. Again, the Marquis of Clanricarde is not a personage of that passionate political tendency which would urge him, at all risks to public and private affairs, to bully a Ministerial bench, if he happened to sit on that bench; and, remembering the serene contentment of the noble Admiral of Connaught, which is the Marquis's great native distinction, during the period when he held office under Lord John Russell, and while Lord Palmerston was arranging that reaction which the other day gave Russia, as Russia thought, her chance, the conclusion is inevitable, that if this accomplished nobleman were again presiding in great dignity in a pleasant room at St. Martin's-le-Grand, from the hour of 12 a.m. to the hour of 1 p.m. daily, at a salary of 4000*l.* a year, so acceptable always to Grand Admirals of Connaught, more particularly while the navy of that picturesque province is not in commission, we should have heard, on Tuesday, a reply to Earl Grey very much more effective than that attempted by the descendant of Mac Callum More. His Grace of Argyll is not a debater, and never will be: and if he would humbly observe that Lord Derby, who has the faculty of annihilating small Peers, made his Grace extremely ridiculous on Tuesday, he would probably greatly improve his position in their Lordships' House, where, excepting himself, no man under fifty ever ventures on oratorising, and no man at all, but himself, on practical lecturing. It is very offensive, even in an old Peer like Lord Clanricarde, presuming to give an authoritative opinion on what the English people should do in an European convulsion; but it is something more than offensive in a blatant mediocrities like the Duke of Argyll, only thirty years of age, elected to Parliament by nobody, and stuck into the Government, while not fifteen persons among the governed know who he is, venturing, in a "great debate," to proffer what he clearly considered a conclusive vindication of a Government including, with some capacity for speaking, all the first-rate statesmen of the day. Lord Derby laughed at the Duke; and most people laughed at the Duke; but the Duke is of one of those felicitous natures who are not susceptible to impressions derived from manifestations of public opinion; and Lord Derby will by-and-by find that the Duke of Argyll needs something more than satire for his improvement as a potential personage, who governs us because he is a Duke.

Perhaps this young Duke who has an old head, which is not a clever old head, and which had therefore better be a young head, on his shoulders, is in the Cabinet as "the representative of a minority?" Lord John Russell has been terribly laughed at for his scheme for securing the representative of a minority; but is it not a natural proposal from a Coalition Government, which was formed on the basis of managing a Parliament which should be all Ministerial, and include no Opposition? Mr. Bright was very funny on Thursday night about the Reform Bill: Mr. Bright was a wag on this occasion. And the House roared with laughter as Mr. Bright was putting his humorous question to Lord John. But, really, what was the last Reform Bill—what is this Reform Bill—but a scheme for the representation of a minority? From that point of view, this portion of the new plan is, perhaps, the most consistent and clear in the whole scheme; and let us hope, as owing all his dignity to the practice, the Duke of Argyll

will defend the theory. As to the Bill itself, it is obviously a great hit—particularly in Schedule A—the reading of which by Lord John was like the firing of a suddenly uncovered battery,—hero after hero going down in death and dismay,—yet amid laughing cheers, as each bit the dust. For there was no call for sympathy; the guns were not shotted; it was only a Reformer practising. No human being in the House, except innocent Mr. Hume, affected to believe that what was going on was real. Lord John himself audaciously confessed that it was all a sham—a parade—not a fight. Think of a great minister stating a great plan, to revolutionise the constitution, in a speech of an hour and a half:—that in an age when even subordinates like Mr. Baines take their three hours, and every Chancellor of the Exchequer takes five hours per Budget. Think of the speech being no speech at all, but a slovenly, abruptly divided, low-toned, loose "talk about" a bill. Why, on the slightest occasion, when he can bring in civil and religious liberty, Lord John puts his elbows in his hands and talks of the "cawstitution." On Monday he did not once put his elbows in his hands, and he spoke all night merely of the every-day constitution. Think of a Reform Bill being introduced in a smaller House than was collected to hear the Butt speech the other night against Butt's countrymen. Lord John did it all in a careless, off-hand way; he came down to the House laughing and chatting with ladies: and when he rose to revolutionise the country it was with a "oh—by-the-by" way. Let nobody suppose, he said, commencing, that I am going to tell you this is important: not a bit of it: it's not of the slightest consequence. Of course it wasn't: the Toots of statesmanship was right for once: and was hear-heard. The House listened loungingly, while he talked carelessly; and whenever there was an interruption, it was a laugh, not a cheer, not a growl. And it was all over at eight o'clock! And all this was because nobody believed, nobody believes, that the bill was reality—a measure to be gone on with. It was postponed to the Ides of March: it was postponed for ever:—that is, till next session.

Saturday Morning.

A "STRANGER"

ENGLAND AND HUNGARY.—To feel himself answerable, more or less, for the suppression of a nation like that of Hungary, may be something like a due retribution for a statesman, if the ruin be fairly presented to his eyes and his heart. In all future time it will be told in history that England's clear duty was to prevent the catastrophe, and that she did it not. The main Austrian army was driven back, and very nearly expelled from Hungary; it was disheartened and encumbered, retreating upon the frontier, and the Hungarian forces were strong and cheerful, all along the Danube, when the Russians marched on, converging from various parts into Hungary, and we, disobeying the law of nations, and faithless to all international principle and all prior professions, allowed the barbaric strangers to march in and ruin all. Since that time every household is secure of its domestic spy; every heart wears the mourning that is never put off: a noble lady has been flogged by a company of Austrian soldiers; her husband is dead by his own hand, unable to live under the horror of that conception; and their only son is made to serve as a private soldier in Italy. His half-erased mother hoards two treasures: the newspaper which tells of the exploit of the brewers of Banksy, and a bit of the broom with which Haynau was assaulted. It was Haynau who broke the heart and turned the brain of that household; and we ranged ourselves on his side.—*Westminster Review*.

SECRET DIPLOMACY.—Every American may visit the foreign department at Washington, and see, on demand, the despatches to and from his Government. The same is, we believe, the case in Berlin; and certainly we learn from the Prussian papers, as well as from the French, a good deal of what we want to know, and what we cannot obtain by other means. Now this is much worse than an absurdity: it is a sin. We are tired of hearing of the difficulty of controlling our foreign policy, when in Lord Palmerston's hands, from his perpetually answering, when inquired of, that it would not be for the public interest to know what was going forward; and again, some time after, that the business was now concluded, and, of course, beyond the reach of everything but mere criticism. But this is what we shall hear from Lord Anybody till we choose to reform our constitution in this point. The *plea of safety* and necessity is nonsense while other nations, some more and some less free than ourselves, can conduct their policy openly, and while they can send us, in their journals, news of what our rulers are doing; and the helplessness is shameful to a people who will not allow a penny to be spent, or any internal administration to go on, without their consent and approval. We have a theory of government at home, and we look vigilantly to its being carried out. We have no theory, no principle, no national conscience about our foreign relations, and we leave them to the care of an administration which is, in that respect, virtually irresponsible. It is the "obstinate ignorance" of Englishmen which lets such a state of things exist; and it is the existence of such a state of things that ensures and protracts the helpless ignorance of Englishmen.—*Westminster Review*.

## Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

THERE is something sadly ludicrous in the reflections to which the subject of Secular Education, when treated by the clergy, gives rise in every mind not under clerical domination. That the people should be taught, all are agreed; and if the whole nation were of one creed there could be no thought of limiting such education to secular subjects; but not being so, the intolerance or stupidity of a large and influential class insists that unless arithmetic is saturated with "Scriptural teaching," and calligraphy with catechismal dronings, no arithmetic nor calligraphy shall be taught. The clergy always omit to mention the fact of their having *their* schools—not merely Sunday Schools, but Churches and Chapels—expressly instituted for Religious instruction. They want all. Too much of a good thing cannot be had, when they have it to give or sell.

Very ludicrous was the argument used in all seriousness the other day by Dr. GUTHRIE—a celebrated man in Edinburgh—at a public meeting on the School question. He supposes the case of a boy having stolen an apple or a marble, and asks how the boy is to be taught that he has done wrong. The master, Dr. GUTHRIE quietly assumes, has no other means (the Bible excluded) of convincing the peculator than "to address a learned discourse to the boy on the congruity and fitness of things. That will do him a world of good! As to congruity, the boy knows nothing about it, and as to the fitness of things, why he thinks they fit remarkably well—the apple fits his appetite and the marble fits his fingers." Now of two things, one: either Dr. GUTHRIE believes that a schoolmaster, without the Bible, would be reduced to such an argument, or he does not believe it; in the one case he is a blockhead, in the other . . . . But what is Dr. GUTHRIE's mode of teaching morality? Would he point out to the boy how, by robbing a schoolfellow, he was wronging him, doing unto him that which in his own case he would acknowledge to be a wrong? Not so. Dr. GUTHRIE thinks the only way of reaching the boy's heart is to tell him, "thou bleeding Lamb, the best morality is love of Thee!"

The success of DOYLE's wondrous work of fancy and humour, *The Foreign Tour of Brown, Jones, and Robinson*, has been something unexampled, an edition of 2500 copies at one guinea each, having been sold in six weeks, and claimants being clamorous for the new edition about to appear. This does not seem much in favour of the principle of cheap literature so exclusively advocated by the *Times*, but shows rather that people like to have books, as well as pamphlets, and that beauty will be paid for in the matter of books as in all other matters. An edition of GOLDSMITH, for example, in shilling volumes would be very acceptable to a large class, whose means will not permit their possessing an expensive edition; and as the works are old, and bear no burden of copyright, the Railway Libraries might very properly include them. But there is also a class, very numerous, to whom books are furniture and ornaments, as well as books; people who delight in the luxury of handsome type, stout and brilliant paper, elegant form, and splendid binding. Place before them a Railway edition, and such an edition as that published by MURRAY in his *British Classics*—the second volume of which, containing the *Enquiry into the State of Learning*, and the *Citizen of the World*, has just appeared—not for one instant will they hesitate to choose the latter. They will choose it, first, because it is really a new edition, produced with care under the auspices of PETER CUNNINGHAM; secondly, because, apart from such considerations, it is an edition which attracts them by its consummate elegance, and (for that elegance) low price. Granting that both editions were equal in respect of text and notes; granting that one were simply a reprint of the other, we firmly believe that no lover and possessor of books would purchase the cheap edition could he afford the dearer one.

No reader will imagine we are opposing the extension of cheap Literature by these remarks; we only bring forward a point omitted in the *Times*' argument: There are works which can with success be produced at low prices, and there are works whose popularity having more than reimbursed all expense, can be reproduced at low prices. CHAPMAN and HALL are about to republish *Mary Barton* for two shillings, and other popular works in the same style. *Mary Barton*, having long ago paid author and publisher handsomely, may now be sold for two shillings without danger. So also LONGMAN and Co. are republishing MACAULAY's brilliant essays in three-halfpenny weekly numbers, and shilling monthly parts. The sale will doubtless be prodigious, now their reputation is universal.

In French literature we have to note among noticeable novelties LOUIS BLANC's fifth volume of the brilliant and patient *Histoire de la Revolution Francaise*, which carries the story forward to the *massacre du champ du Mars*. We may, on some future occasion, return to this volume for detailed examination (we make no promises), but meanwhile seriously commend it to our readers. GEORGE SAND's new novel, *La Filleule*, we regret to say, cannot be so recommended; one volume was all we had courage to read. She

seems to have lost her spell now whenever she quits the peasants of her beloved Berry. *Apropos of George Sand*, there is a letter from her in *La Presse*, too long unfortunately for us to give in this number, in which she rectifies the statement somewhat wildly made by MR. ALFRED DE MIRECOURT, who has written what professes to be her life, but which she calls a romance. Next week we will endeavour to find room for it. Of ALEXANDRE DUMAS, and his endless *Memoires*, what can be said? Two more volumes—the fourth and fifth of the second series—are out, and they only bring the story of his life down to the representation of *Antony*, which is described with all his gaiety. EUGENE Sue's new novel, *La Famille Jouffroy*, we content ourselves with announcing.

## A RAZZIA AMONG NEW BOOKS.

THE pile of books awaiting judgment grows daily larger, and "the cry is still, They come." We must have a razzia. And as in an Algerine razzia it is not always a wholesome edible sheep which falls into victorious hands, so in this predatory excursion of ours we may fall in with very worthless food, which for the most part we shall throw down again, and say no more about it.

Philosophy is first attacked. We have not many books to speak of on that subject; among them, however, is the translation of a very excellent work by Chalybeus of Kiel, *The Historical Development of Speculative Philosophy from Kant to Hegel* (Price 10s. 6d. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh). But when we characterise the work as excellent, the qualification must be added "only to those familiar with German philosophy." It is a very popular book for a German book, but it is essentially German; and the translator, Mr. Alfred Edersheim, who seems faithful to a degree beyond what philosophic translators usually are, has in no way lightened the work by any cunning of his own. We repeat, the book is an excellent book for students, but will not be easily intelligible to those unfamiliar with modern German philosophy. One cannot say the same of Victor Cousin's *Lectures on the True, the Beautiful, and the Good*, translated by O. W. Wight (Price 6s. 6d. T. and T. Clark). It is neither unintelligible nor excellent, but a lively winnowing of the veriest chaff; full of error as an egg is full of meat!

As we usually see that an abuse pushed to extremity generates the reaction which issues in its abolition, it is not surprising to find the strongest protest yet made against Sabbatarianism coming from Scotland, where lugubrious Calvinism, with scrip in its pocket and Scripture on its tongue, resolves that the working man by whom the day of rest is not looked forward to with avidity as an opportunity for singing psalms very much out of tune and listening to Dr. Candlish, shall have no alternative but to stay at home and drink whiskey. This protest we owe to the earnestness and ability of Mr. Robert Cox, who in a thick octavo volume entitled *Sabbath Laws and Sabbath Duties* (Simpkin and Marshall), gives us a perfect cyclopaedia of the philosophy and literature of the Sabbath question. A well-reasoned plea for Sunday Trains on the ground of civil right, addressed to the Proprietors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, occupies only sixteen pages of the volume, and forms the text to an appendix of nearly 550 pages, in which every argument for the puritanical observance of the Sabbath, whether founded on Scriptural authority, on prescriptive usage, or on social expediency, is brought to the text of reason, criticism, and history. Mr. Cox applies a fund of curious historical knowledge and unusual reading to the elucidation of his subject, and those who are not acquainted with the writings of our elder Protestant divines will find an agreeable introduction to them in his well-chosen extracts. London is not groaning under the yoke of *Agnewism*, like Edinburgh and Glasgow: not only Lord Palmerston, but the poorest artisan may "enjoy a boat" on Sunday if he likes. But we have still much ground to win—witness the opposition to the opening of the Crystal Palace on Sundays—and all who wish to satisfy themselves or to convince others of the true course on the Sabbath question, should give attention to the results of wisdom and research stored up in Mr. Cox's volume.

*Captain Hutton's Chronology of Creation; or, Geology and Scripture Reconciled* (W. Thacker and Co.) is a very modest, ingenious effort to succeed in the impossible attempt of reconciling Scripture and Science, written in a spirit of moderation quite remarkable, and with abundant knowledge. Differing as we do radically with Capt. Hutton, we have yet read his work with pleasure and instruction. He fails, because failure in such an attempt is inevitable. The same ingenuity which "reconciles" discrepancies so glaring, would equally reconcile Geology with the *Vedas*, or the *Nibelungen Lied* if requisite. You have only to look into Bacon's *Wisdom of the Ancients*, to see how consistent-seeming may the wildest interpretation be made.

Dr. LINDLEY KEMP'S *Indications of Instinct* (Longman and Co. Price 1s.) which forms No. 54 of the *Traveller's Library*, is as interesting in its facts and anecdotes, as it is shallow in its philosophy. What could have induced one so incompetent to meddle with so intricate a subject, we will not conjecture; only a strong interest in the subject will lure the reader through the shallow metaphysics of the introduction to the accumulation of facts which give a value to this book. On the very first page we are told:—

"We sometimes talk as if gravitation had no existence until it was discovered by Newton; and we use expressions as if chemical affinities were brought into play by the French philosopher of the last century, or as if that, perhaps, most remarkable power of all—that of catalysis—was called into being but a few years ago. And yet it is evident that all these were producing their wonderful results long ere mankind appeared upon the scene."

How Dr. LINDLEY KEMP may talk, his friends alone can testify (with a shuddering recollection, we suspect), but the rest of the world has not, we assure him, been in the least accustomed to imagine that Newton created gravitation when he created the formula. But Dr. Kemp, who tells us on the next page, that no known "scientific principle seems to be a necessary property of matter" is obviously in the densest of mental fogs; which may account for this statement. "It is plain that consciousness has no necessary connexion with life." Nothing is less plain. What he means is, that life does not of a necessity bring with it consciousness. The same foggiest

overhangs the book in all parts, where he is not simply compiling. He writes of instinct, and has so vague an idea of what the word means, that he applies it to such processes as those of nutrition!

"A fungus, as a common edible mushroom, may be at sunset a mere dot of matter, scarcely or not at all appreciable to our senses, and may by next morning be a large plant that weighs a pound. This indicates an immense activity of its radicles during these few hours and a degree of instinctive movement and instinctive selection that is very extraordinary."

Like most writers of his stamp, while denying psychial endowments to insects and the lower animals, he narrates stories of them, in which are implied all the highest faculties. For example—and the passage is interesting in other respects—speaking of the ants:—

"Generally in each nest, several females or queens live together, between whom the greatest harmony seems to prevail. Some time before any of these lays her eggs she is actuated by a strong desire to leave the ant-hill and escape from her palace—a desire, however, which she is prevented from carrying into effect by the neuters, who, upon such occasions hold them firmly by the legs, and never quit their royal mistresses. They treat them, nevertheless, with great kindness, assiduously feeding them, and conducting them to that part of the habitation where the temperature is most suitable to them. By degrees this desire of the queen to quit the nest disappears; and when she begins to lay, by a most remarkable instinct she cuts off her own wings and determinedly settles to her domestic duties. She is still, however, constantly waited upon by one ant, who appears to be ready in case she should require any thing. This attendant is from time to time relieved by another, who takes his place. When the queen has laid some eggs, the honour in which she is held is still further increased; all the ants of the colony come to present their respects to her, and to offer her food. If she desire to pass along a steep bit of the dwelling, they press to assist her, and sometimes altogether carry her, a number of others attending and showing their joy by dancing around her. And if she chance to die they still treat her corps with respect, and often for months continue to brush and lick it."

Now pray enumerate the psychial faculties—rational and emotional—which are implied in the desires, resolutions, attentions, contrivances, respect, joy, and sorrow of this passage: most, if not all, of which, one may safely say, come from the narrator's interpretation of acts which really mean nothing of the kind. We have been severe; but the cheapness of this volume, and its place in so popular a series, will secure it a public, and readers must be warned, that in buying this book, they are buying many curious, interesting facts, strung together on a most worthless thread.

Mr. Bohn, to whom the *Times* paid a well-merited compliment the other day, for his bold and decisive efforts in popularising good literature at low prices, has added to his *British Classics*, the first volume of an edition, in four volumes, of *Addison's Works* (price 3s. 6d.), with Hurd's notes, and various engravings. This volume contains the *Poems* (which don't read!), the *Dialogues on Ancient Medals*, in which the ancient poets are pleasantly quoted and gossipped about—and the *Remarks on Italy*. It is a very handsome book, fit for any shelves. To his *Classical Library* he has added the first volume of the *Oxford Translation of Tacitus* (price 5s.), which contains the *Annals*—a book read, not because Tacitus was a Latin writer, but because he was and is a *classic*. Mr. Bohn has also added a translation—and an unusually spirited translation too—of the works of *Apuleius*, which are read—at least the *Golden Ass* is—not because the author was a *classic* (for he never was), but because his romance is curious, and not a little "improper." In this edition the *Florida* and the *Apologia* are translated for the first time into English. Mrs. Tighe's poem of *Psyche* is added. *Ranke's History of Servia and the Servian Revolution* (price 3s. 6d.), although not written to serve the curiosity of the day, is nevertheless apropos; and Mr. Bohn, by way of completing the volume, adds to it a sketch of *Bosnia*, also by *Ranke*, and a compilation from *Cyprien Robert*, on the *Slave Provinces of Turkey*. And here is a volume, which among the brightest of the *Standard Library* volumes will stand pre-eminent—a translation of *Goethe's Novels and Tales* (price 3s. 6d.), viz., the "Elective Affinities," "Werter," "German Emigrants," the "Good Women," and the *Nouvelette (des Märchen)*. The first of these, "Elective Affinities," Mr. Bohn assures us in the preface, has been translated by a gentleman well known in the literary world, who does not wish his name to appear; we can endorse that statement; the name, if it appeared, would greatly stimulate curiosity. Mr. Bohn further informs us, that now, for the first time, we have a "Werter" translated directly from the original; hitherto, a miserable version, made from a French translation, is all we have had to represent that epoch-making book. It must be a scanty purse that can resist *Goethe's novels* for three and sixpence!

It is now a quarter of a century since the *Passages from the Diary of a late Physician* first startled the public in the pages of *Blackwood*, and made each number of that magazine looked for with peculiar earnestness, as many of us remember. The *People's Edition of the Works of Samuel Warren* which Messrs. *Blackwood* have commenced, in three-halfpenny weekly numbers, and shilling monthly parts, begins therefore with these *Passages*, and here a volume, closely printed, double-columned, lies before us, inviting notice. We do not rank among the admirers of Mr. Warren; indeed, we have found his later works totally unreadable. But we remember the intense interest with which we "devoured" these *Passages*; and there is no mistaking the fact that Mr. Warren is popular—widely popular. His opinions, or rather let us say his prejudices, are as opposed to all we hold, as his style is removed from all idea we form of excellence. But he is not likely to change the one or improve the other, especially now experience has proved both to be acceptable to large classes. We therefore inform his admirers of the fact of cheap re-publication, and leave them to avail themselves of it.

Talking of cheap re-publications, Mr. Routledge's daring speculation of purchasing *Bulwer's Works* for ten years, and issuing them in the *Railway Library*, has been a theme of general conversation for some weeks. Here is *Pelham* for eighteen-pence, with a lengthy memoir or rather panegyric on the author, very misplaced, and absurdly adulatory. If *Bulwer's name and fame* are not enough to carry his books into circulation, such puff as this will not accomplish it.

The same publisher has given us an edition of that exquisite book, *White's Natural History of Selborne*. And this is not a mere reprint, but an edition very carefully executed by the Rev. J. G. Wood, of Oxford, whose *Illustrated Natural History* gave ample evidence of his qualifications. Mr. Wood has availed himself of the notes of previous editors, and added largely from

his own stores, completing White's statements, and occasionally correcting them by more accurate information. The scientific name of each animal is also added; and woodcut illustrations are given of almost every creature mentioned by White. It is a book very emphatically to be recommended.

From the same active house we have an edition of *George Herbert's Works in Prose and Verse*, edited with scholarly care by the Rev. R. A. Wilmot, who writes an elegant introductory memoir. The book is printed in imitation of the old style, and is illustrated with several engravings.

The fourth volume of *Jerdon's Autobiography* (Arthur Hall) concludes that enterprise of twaddle in the old slipplosh, ungrammatical, trivial style, and does not show the slightest amendment as a result of all the criticism it provoked. Miss Strickland's *Rome, Regal and Republican* (Arthur Hall; price 10s. 6d.) is a family history of Rome, which, as far as we have examined it, seems well adapted for its purpose. It is of course a compilation, and one to which no one will look for new views or new facts. But the skill of the editor in rendering history agreeable to young people has been well tried, and it stands her in good stead here.

While noticing this educational work, let a line of commendation be given to Mr. Scrymgeour's *Outlines of General History, Ancient and Modern* (Simpkin and Marshall). It is a small shilling volume, excellently done, and very serviceable as a sort of index to universal history. Mr. Turner's *Handbooks of Chronology* (R. Griffin and Co.) may also be named as serviceable shillingworths; there are three, one on *Roman Chronology*—one on *Greek and Macedonian*—and one on *Scripture and Early Oriental Chronology*. In the series of *Grammar School Classics* published by Messrs. Whittaker and Co., we have to notice Mr. Paley's edition of *Ovid's Fasti, with English Notes* (price 5s. 6d.). It is a handsomely-printed pocket volume, the notes brief, clear, and direct, worthy of Mr. Paley's scholarship, and worthy of imitation for their instructiveness.

The last book on our selected list is a charming book for young people, by Mrs. Newton Crossland, called *Memorable Women* (David Bogue). It consists of eight miniature biographies of women who may be presented, the writer thinks, as examples of wives and mothers who have done their duty under trying circumstances. They are Lady Rachel Russell, Madame D'Arblay, Madame Piozzi, Mrs. Hutchinson, Lady Fanshawe, Margaret Fuller, and Lady Sale. The examples are not accompanied by any formal "preachments," but each story is well told and left to produce its own impression.

## The Arts.

### RANELAGH.

As a bachelor—*tout ce qu'il y a de plus garçon*—I have a strong objection to the little "irregularities" of married men. Not to mention the immorality, there is the *unfairness* to us. They do not meet us on equal terms. They have not to "speak to papa." They have not to show their incomes and expectations. They are allowed intimacy and familiarities denied to us. Their intentions being strictly *dishonourable*, they are not called upon to prove them honourable. Besides, they have the attraction of forbidden fruit. On all accounts, therefore, I protest against their entering the lists; and it does me good to see them get a "lesson." The drama gives lessons. Is it not a Lay Pulpit—a chapel of ease (a somewhat free-and-easy chapel) to the great Church of Society? Do we not go there for the express purpose of moral instruction? Every one of us! *La belle question!*

In Palgrave Simpson's new comedy of *Ranelagh*—a version of *un mari qui se dérange*, in which Lafond played so charmingly at the St. James's theatre—the husbands alluded to receive a lesson. That Sir Robert Rovely, who has a charming wife he adores and neglects, cannot stay quietly and easily by the domestic hearthbrush, but must be hovering around a mysterious Fiorentina of lax principles and capricious health. He is never at home; and this conduct is the more noticeable, because it stands in such contrast to the conjugal fidelity of Dr. Coddlelove, the family physician, who never leaves his wife. In Lady Rovely and Mrs. Coddlelove, we have types of the two agreeables of marriage: the one is worried by neglect, the other by too surfeiting a devotion; one starves, the other cries *toujours de la perdrix!* (*mem:* when writers write *toujours perdrix*—as they all do—they write nonsense). Properly to adjust the balance is the delicate matrimonial problem; for you may just as well *beat* a wife as *bore* her. Neither Sir Robert nor Dr. Coddlelove adjust the balance well. One is absurdly neglectful, the other absurdly uxorious.

Now in this situation there was an excellent opportunity for dramatic treatment—an opportunity the authors have not availed themselves of, but have sacrificed to the vulgar desire of producing an *imbroglio*. The piece is amusing; but it might have been made more amusing, and more permanently so, had the grasp of realities been vigorous, and a picture of life been presented in lieu of this mere stage intrigue, which we have all seen a hundred times. In *Ranelagh* we have two husbands not recognising their masked wives, as we have had them before in innumerable pieces. The intrigue is sprightly, and the rapid action keeps the audience oscillating between expectation and laughter; but the laughter has not ceased before we are aware of the unreality of the whole. This want of grasp, this inattention to the real dramatic wealth of the idea, was very visible in the first act, which moved slowly in consequence. There was a happy hint of a scene—only a hint—where Sir Robert having resolved to stay at home for an evening—a cozy conjugal evening—finds himself horribly bored by domestic delights, and doesn't know how to accommodate himself to them. There was also a fine opportunity missed at the close of the act, when the husband leaves his wife to her loneliness, unprotected against the machinations of a cousin with amatory views. But I must not pause to criticise this trifle. It is a stage piece not a comedy; a hint of a work not a work.

Viewing it as a stage piece, it is, as already intimated, very amusing. The scene at *Ranelagh* is a good bit of French ingenuity in construction; and it was put on the stage with all the attention to scenic effect which Buckstone has displayed during his management. Of the acting, as I am in an indulgent mood, I will say little except that the success of the piece rested with

Buckstone as the uxorious doctor, and Mrs. Fitzwilliam as the jovial but too much loved wife. The little I have to say, is that Mr. George Vandenhoff wants impulse and airiness for comedy, "takes the stage" by far too emphatically, and was not serious even in the serious passages.

## THE LOELOCK.

The British Lion was not dead but sleeping; he is roused at last to mild growls of royal wrath, showing that let "Manchester Men" wrap themselves in never so many yards of calico and fustian, they cannot swaddle him. The British nation rises against Russia. Chelsea is resolute, and Notting-hill comes forward "as one man!" The "Autograph of all the Russians" trembles in his shoes; and well he may, since the national spirit is so far roused that a British pit recovers its old energy, and damns—yes, actually—damns a new play, not by any means with faint praise or "first night" triumphs, but with good hearty *yahs*, and ironical applause. I thought Sheridan's *mot*, that "damns have had their day," had come true, such flaccid supine indifference had playgoers for many years exhibited. Monday night dispelled the delusion, and the unhappy author of *The Lovelock* was told that there were bounds even to the patience of a British pit.

The play was damned. Did it deserve its fate? Frankly I think it did. There were no redeeming points; and had it not been acted as it was by Wigan, Robson, Emery, and Mrs. Wigan, it never could have been endured to the end; but their acting, the artistic scenery and dresses, aided by the hope that something must be coming to warrant such care and costume, kept us patient till the fourth act. I will not pause to criticise the piece, but simply note that the failure did not result from any one special defect in the story so much as from the radical and irremediable defect in the author—the total absence of dramatic sense, power, instinct, art—call it what you will—which makes a man a *dramatist*. Not only was the story vague, childish, and uninteresting, but the characters wanted individuality—even the conventional outlines of stage types; the actions seemed motiveless; and the dialogue was of that formless flaccid kind which is essentially undramatic; even when the ideas and phrases were felicitous, they missed effect because they were not expressed in dramatic forms. How the play may *read*, I cannot say, but presume it must have some charm in it, or the manager would not have produced it. The difference, however, between what will read with effect and what will act with effect, is generic.

And yet what pains had been bestowed on it! Wigan, whose appearance reminded one of Macready in Lear and Werner, played a long, dreary, unintelligible part with great elaborateness and with touches of beautiful truthfulness. Robson, in both parts, showed himself an actor capable of coercing attention even to the most insignificant details. Emery was admirably "made up," and played a monotonous character with as much effect as possible. And Mrs. Wigan, in a part of motiveless malignity, was incisive, natural, and amusing; by her mode of delivering her points, she made the audience laugh even during their discontent and weariness. But nothing could save the piece, and nothing saved it.

## CHARLES MATHEWS AND HIS STRUGGLES.

In the way of theatrical gossip, let me advert to the letter Charles Mathews has published in the *Times*, as an affecting vindication of himself from the calumnies which spread with fungus-like rapidity, borne on the four winds of idle gossip. It shows that the last twelve years of his life have been an honourable struggle, not the dishonourable career of recklessness it has pleased the world to credit him with. For the sake of preserving this document, I give it here:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR.—I think the public must be heartily tired of me and my affairs, but as the Sunday press has chosen to put forth a number of misstatements respecting the late events at the Lyceum Theatre, I deem it right to come forward, as I have always done, and tell my own story.

I have stood in a false position towards the world for many years, and have been content

## BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

## BIRTHS.

BOSWELL.—Feb. 13, at Blackadder, Lady Houston Boswell: twins, a son and daughter.

JONES.—Feb. 8, at Ludford, near Ludlow, the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Inigo Jones: a daughter.

PENRUDDOCKE.—Feb. 13, at Upper Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, the wife of Charles Penruddocke, Esq., of Compton Park, White: a daughter.

WINCHELSEA.—Feb. 11, at Haverholme Priory, the Countess of Winchelsea: a daughter.

## MARRIAGES.

BARING.—MARTINOFF.—Feb. 10, at Paris, Henry Baring, Esq., M.P., to Mademoiselle Marie de Martinoff.

RAVENSHAW.—THOMSON.—Jan. 4, at the Cathedral, Calcutta, John Henry Ravenshaw, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, youngest son of John Hurdle Ravenshaw, Esq., of Sunfield-house, Richmond, Surrey, to Caroline, only daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Thompson, C.B.

## DEATHS.

FORES.—Nov. 6, at Melbourne, Australia, while bathing in the Yarra Yarra River, Richard, younger son of Mr. Henry Philip Fores, bookseller, of 42, South Audley-street, Grosvenor-square, aged twenty-one.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, February 17, 1854.

These Funds have been wonderfully well supported during the week; but after the settlement of the Account on Tuesday, they began to drop; yet so incredulous is the public as to any real war taking place, that we shall not see any great fall until the first shot has been fired, when no diploma abroad or dirt-eating at home will explain that away. English shares have been firm, although but little dealt in. French shares are lower. The people in Paris seem now to have set their house in order for the worse, and the Emperor's letter this week has not mended matters. The delay in the departure of our army for the East, although easily understood by the initiated, gives a last hope to the peace-at-all-events advocates.

Land Companies, and Crystal Palace shares continue tolerably firm. Mines not much inquired after. *Aqua Fria* are reported to be in a position to divide a 25 per cent. dividend. Peninsular mining shares are better, despite of the 5s. call; 1000 tons of ore will be shipped and delivered in all, March and April, and the accounts of the richness of these mines is really fabulous. Port Royal in Jamaica has made a little start upwards; the silver that has been assayed is very rich. English gold-mining adventures are quiet at present, having

nothing very brilliant to report. Money is very easy, and every confidence shown whatever as to the issue of the sirup about to commence. Consols leave off at 3.30, 914.

Consols, 914, 54; Caledonian, 534, 54; Chester and Holyhead, 151, 161; Eastern Counties, 131, 134; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 61, 64; Great Western, 824, 824; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 66, 67; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 96, 97; London and North Western, 104, 104; London and South Western, 81, 82; Midland, 631, 632; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 34, 36; Scottish Central, 90, 92; South Eastern, 62, 63; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 60, 70; York and North Midland, 40, 50; East Indian, 20, 35; pm.; Luxembourg (Railway), 7, 71; Ditto, Pref. 1, 14; Northern of France, 291, 291; Paris and Lyons, 121, 123, 125; Paris and Orleans, 42, 44; Paris and Rouen, 35, 37, ex div.; Rouen and Havre, 171, 181; Paris and Strasbourg, 284, 285; Sambre and Meuse, 8, 84; West Flanders, 31, 41; Western of France, 21, 34, pm.; Crystal Palace, 4, 11 pm.; North British Australasian, 1-16 div. par.; Australasian Agricultural, 41, 43; Scottish Investment, 11, 15 pm.; South Australian, 38, 40; Van Diemen's Land, 13, 14; Agua Fria, 1 pm., 11; Anglo-Californian, par., 1-16; Colonial Gold, 1-16 pm., 3-16; Brazil Imperial, 51, 6; Great Nuggetts, 4 div. par.; Linars, 10, 11; Nouveau Monde, par., 4; Port Philip, 4 div. 4 div.; South Australian (copper), 4 div.; United Mexican, 3, 31; Walters, 4, 4 div.; Peninsula, 11, 15 pm.; Obernhofer, 4 div. par.; Port Royals, 4, 4 pm.; Metcalfe's, 4, 4 pm.; Poltimores, 1-16, 3-16 pm.

## CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, Feb. 17.

LOCAL TRADE.—The trade during the week has continued as dull as we have previously had occasion to report. The supplies of all Grain have been moderate. At this day's market there is a small attendance of buyers, and all articles remain precisely as on Monday.

FLOATING TRADE.—We have to report a fair number of arrivals of the coast this week—say 54 cargoes in all. The trade has been altogether lifeless since last Friday. Some sales have been made of cargoes, both arrived and on passage, but there is no briskness, and purchasers do not appear very confident that they are doing right in operating. Most of the facts which we have hitherto put forward as likely to affect the course of prices, appear to have been incorrectly stated; nevertheless, a month ago, that Wheat would reach 120s., has given place to doubts of even present rates being maintained, and this notwithstanding the war-

to fight my battle manfully, bearing patiently the load I took knowingly upon my shoulders, cheered on through every trial by the possession of a good cause, good health, good spirits the favour of the public, and the firm feeling that I was performing an honourable duty under almost superhuman difficulties. For this I have never had credit; on the contrary, the world believes me to be an extravagant, thoughtless, reckless fellow, living an idle, dissolute life, totally regardless of my own honour and the interests of others. This character I not only indignantly disclaim, but in support of such disclaimer I confidently appeal to all who know me. There are persons in all classes to whom such an appeal can be made. In fact, in consequence of the calumnies now circulating, I am inviting a committee of gentlemen, whose names will be guarantees to the world, to examine into the truth of my statement, and to set me right, at least in this respect, in the eyes of the public.

After the misfortunes at Covent Garden, when the Insolvent Court had released me from a burden, I can truly say, "unjustly" placed upon me, I was set free as the air from every difficulty. I was free in the eyes of the law no less than in those of commercial morality, but I did not consider myself free in the eyes of my own honour, and I at once voluntarily devoted the rest of my life, if necessary, to the task of repaying several thousands of pounds which I considered due from the man, though not from the manager. From that moment, for fourteen years, I have steadily worked night and day, through difficulty and sorrow, through evil report, through obstacles and apparent impossibilities, in all times at the mercy of hundreds of people, all with the tempting power of arrest in their hands. I have been tracked noon and night, beset at the doors of the theatre, besieged in my dressing-room the very moment before assuming the light-hearted characters of the drama before a laughing audience, whose only remark has been, "Look at him; he likes it."

All this I have done in spite of the eternal and unthinking advice of friends that I should again "wipe it all off and have done with it;" to which advice I have invariably answered, "No—I will work it all off. I will not seek protection till all honourable means are exhausted." Is it too much to ask the public to assist me in my struggle,—not with money—they do that most liberally—but with their good word? Is it too much to ask them to give me credit rather than blame for my exertions? Is it too much to ask them, instead of believing every story that is told, to await the report of a committee who shall have tested the truth of what I assert, and meanwhile give the prisoner at the bar that benefit all prisoners are allowed—of being considered innocent until proved guilty?

If any man can accuse me of a dishonourable act, I here call upon him to come forward and substantiate it. I declare that my only crime is that I cannot pay—fast enough. No one has ever yet found me refuse to pay when I had the money; for, as to the absurdly dishonourable insinuation, that I have money privately laid by while I allow myself to be persecuted for the want of it, and have also to pay for it dearer than any one else, that may be taken as a type of what the invention of gossips can circulate.

As to the late events at the Lyceum Theatre, these are the plain facts:—Finding that the claims, dating from last Easter, were pressing so heavily upon the present great receipts, the greatness of the receipts, of course, causing the greatness of the pressure, and thereby jeopardising the interests of the general company, I called half a dozen of the principals to my room (mind I called them, not they me), and told them that, to guard their interests, I had resolved to set apart from the nightly receipts the sum requisite for the current salaries, leaving to myself the task of meeting all claims for the past as best I could; claims, I emphatically observe, solely connected with the theatre, and none of them with my personal expenditure. It is right the public should know this. My proposal was received with the warmest satisfaction.

The consequence was immediate. No sooner was the first night (Monday last) over, and the receipts appropriated to this legitimate purpose, than fifty judgments were at once acted upon, and at five o'clock on Tuesday I was arrested. It being too late to make other arrangements, and a splendid audience having assembled, the customary mode resorted to on the sudden indisposition of a principal performer was adopted, and the indulgence of the audience requested for another gentleman to read my part. This was, strange to say—and probably the first time such a thing ever happened in a London theatre—unanimously refused, and the money was returned at the doors. On the next evening the bars imposed by all those judgment creditors were removed, and at half-past five I sent word to the company that I should be with them in an hour, begging them to be ready to perform their duty. At twenty minutes past six I was there, and found the whole company, with a few honourable exceptions, had deserted their posts and quitted the theatre. The doors were once more closed in the face of a numerous audience, and ruin seemed inevitable.

I have since called my old fellow-labourers back to their duty, explained the real state of affairs, and I am now happy to say all is going on as flourishingly as ever, with cordiality behind the curtain, and good humour in front of it.

Such is a brief statement of my fourteen years' struggle and of my latest difficulty. The theatre is again open to audiences numerous as before, and even more indulgent.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

C. J. MATHEWS.

The English have too much love of fair play not to respond to this appeal.

One more bit of gossip: Charles Kean revives *Richard III.* on Monday next. It is understood, that in order to give reality to this Shakspearian performance, "six Richmonds" are engaged to be on the field. VIVIAN.

like appearance of political affairs. Farmers continue to supply the country markets sparingly, and the most careful inquiries we have been enabled to make lead to the conclusion, that with the exception of individual cases, there are no great accumulations of stock held throughout the country generally—in London, no doubt stocks are large. Along the British Channel they are not so. We have had buyers of Wheat for immediate consumption from that quarter. In the Bristol Channel, and the West Coast generally, we can hear of few persons largely in stock, and the same is the case on the East Coast. Glasgow is fully stocked. Ireland has, we think, rather more than we had given to understand by the Irish themselves, but we cannot find that stocks there are large. In France and Belgium the same fluctuations of opinion from day to day, as we have here are apparent. Up to the present time the movement there has been downwards.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.  
(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock	216	216	217	.....	218	218
3 per Cent. Red.	924	924	924	924	924	924
3 per Cent. Con. An.	912	92	912	912	912	912
Consols for Account	912	912	912	912	912	912
3 per Cent. An.	936	934	934	934	934	934
New 5 per Cent.	.....	5	5	.....	.....	.....
Long Ann. 1860	.....	.....	232	235	.....	.....
India Stock	230	19	10	7	11 p.	11 p.
Ditto Bonds, £1000	19	10	10	7	11 p.	11 p.
Ditto, under £1000	20 p.	20 p.	21 p.	18 p.	18 p.	18 p.
Ex. Bills, £1000	19 p.	20 p.	21 p.	18 p.	18 p.	18 p.
Ditto, £500	19 p.	20 p.	21 p.	18 p.	18 p.	18 p.
Ditto, Small	19 p.	20 p.	21 p.	18 p.	18 p.	18 p.

FOREIGN FUNDS.	
(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)	
Brazilian Bonds	90
Russian Bonds, 5 per Cents	102
Chinese 6 per Cents	102
Russian 44 per Cents	90
Danish 3 per Cents	25
Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	102
Ecuador Bonds	4
Spanish Committee Cert.	25
Mexican 3 per Cents	25
of Coup. not fun.	4
American 3 per Cts. for	25
Venezuela 34 per Cents	25
American February 14	242
Belgian 44 per Cents	25
Portuguese 4 per Cents	61
Dutch 25 per Cents	61
Portuguese 3 p. Cents	61
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	92

**ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.**—  
Lesser, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN. Monday, and during the week,

**THE FIRST NIGHT.**

Characters by Messrs. A. Wigan, Leslie, Vincent, H. Cooper, Franks; Miss P. Horton, and Miss Wyndham. After which,

**THE BENGAL TIGER.**

(as acted before her Majesty and Prince Albert at Windsor Castle). To conclude with

**THE LOTTERY TICKET.**

Wormwood. Mr. F. Robson

On Monday, Feb. 27th, will be presented the Drama of **PLOT AND PASSION.**

**M. R. SIMS REEVES, M.D.L.L.E.** GRAVER, and a host of Vocal and Instrumental Talent at the **WEDNESDAY EVENING CONCERTS, EXETER HALL**, on the 22d (Wednesday next).

Programmes and Tickets to be had at the Hall.

**EGYPTIAN HALL.**—**CONSTANTINOPLE** is now OPEN every day at Half-past Two o'clock, and every evening at Eight. The Lecture is delivered by Mr. CHARLES KENNEY, and has been written by Mr. Albert Smith and Mr. Shirley Brooks. Admission, 1s.; reserved seats, 2s.

**PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY.**

**THE EXHIBITION OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND DAGUERREOTYPES** is now open, at the Gallery of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk-street, Pall-mall, in the morning, from 10 a.m. to half-past 4 p.m., admission, 1s.; and in the evening, from 7 to 10, admission only 3d. Catalogues, 6d.

**DR. KAHN'S MUSEUM** is now OPEN at the **SALLE ROBIN**, opposite the Haymarket—for Gentlemen, from Eleven till Five, and from Seven till Ten; on Wednesdays and Fridays, however, only Ladies are admitted from Two till Five, when Gentlemen will not be admitted. Lectures on Human and Comparative Anatomy will be delivered to Gentlemen by Dr. Leach, and for Ladies by Mrs. Leach.

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Do do .....	pints 3 6 "
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I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

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POLICIES EFFECTED ON OR BEFORE 1ST MARCH, 1854, WILL RECEIVE SIX YEARS' ADDITIONS AT THE ALLOCATION AT 1ST MARCH, 1859.

ROBERT CHRISTIE, Manager.  
WM. FINLAY, Secretary.  
WM. COOK, Agent.

126, Bishopsgate-street, Feb. 1, 1854.

INSTITUTED 1831.

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Manager—Robert Christie, Esq.  
London: 126, Bishopsgate-street, Cornhill.  
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